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The paper cover of Volume XLI and typographical changes are war-time economies. It is intended that the usual stiff cover shall be available eventually.]

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(reproduced by permission of the Egypt Exploration Society)

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OBITUARIES

STANLEY CASSON: 1889–1944.

(With Plate 1.)

STANLEY CASSON combined in an unusual way the qualities of a scholar and connoisseur with those of a man of action and adventure. When he came up from Merchant Taylors in 1909 as an exhibitioner of Lincoln College, he came early under the influence of Farnell and Marett, and was an energetic officer of the new Anthropological Society. Already people and their works interested him more than language or literature. Yet he wrote with ease and force, and had a good ear for foreign speech: his colloquial Greek was excellent.

When he took his degree, an alternative career was open to him, but he knew what he wanted, and attained it in his own way. A Senior Scholarship at St. John's College gave him a foothold in Oxford, and a Studentship, offered by the British School at Athens, the entry into that unique company, the learned society of modern Greece. British students have too often secluded themselves in their cosy library and hostel: Casson had come to study Greek life, in all its phases and fortunes. The pre-Hellenic studies then in vogue did not specially appeal to him—he was already too true a Hellenist; but he combined with classical sculpture and architecture the rich colour and symbolism of Byzantine art—a wider avenue to the hearts of Balkan peoples—and his eye for country, and interest already in warfare, made the National Revival a congenial phase of Greek history. A century earlier, he would have been at the side of Byron and Codrington, Hastings and Richard Church. But the School had undertaken an important piece of collaborated work; a new *Catalogue* of the Acropolis Museum was to be prepared by our students and printed in Cambridge. Here was a positive and definite task. Guy Dickins of New College undertook to edit the first volume, and Casson the second.

But after two happy active years came the War, and a commission in the East Lancashire Regiment, a *macédoine* of natives, Scots, and Liverpool Irish. Casson was one of those who had looked ahead, and made O.T.C. training a reality; and he studied and handled his platoon as he had learned to treat Greek peasant-excavators. A short experience of Flanders, a disabling but not dangerous wound, a rapid convalescence, and his sound knowledge of things Greek, brought him before long to Salonica, and into the General Staff under Sir George Milne. Here adventure was linked with antiquity at every turn; Paeonia's own peonies in no-man's-land; Amphipolis and Philippi; the great Roman milestone inscribed ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΩΙ which so pleased our men; the neolithic strata in the sides of the trenches; an Intelligence mess like a College Common Room, with learned colleagues, too, among the French and the Serbs. It was all in the picture that the officer detailed to escort the Bulgar flag of truce should become an Honorary Member of the Bulgarian Archaeological Institute. And then, to be one of the first Allied officers to enter Constantinople; one of the farthest on that fantastic front in Turkestan, astride a single railway track in sand-desert; to be mentioned in despatches, and receive the Greek Order of the Saviour—what better credentials for an Assistant Director of the British School—Dean, Tutor, and Librarian in one—or for a Fellow of New College with a roving commission in archaeology, coupled with light duty as a lecturer in the Department at the Ashmolean. And by a rare chance the Professor was still Percy Gardner, most philosophical of archaeologists, with whom Casson had studied already. This appointment, on terms then unfamiliar, was peculiarly welcome, for Guy Dickins had fallen in the war, leaving a grievous void, and the *Acropolis Catalogue* unfinished. Its second volume, mainly Casson's work, and already in proof, was soon published, and he could turn to his most extensive

contribution to learning, a historical geography of *Macedonia, Thrace, and Illyria,* which gained the Conington Prize in 1924 and was published in 1929. It included, with much else, the results of his own excavations on pre-Hellenic sites revealed during the war.

Though exempt from tutorial routine, Casson was not slow to build up an acquaintance among undergraduates, all the wider because his own interests and knowledge were so varied. His success as a teacher was soon recognised by a University lectureship, which was continuously renewed. His natural love for young people and for provocative discussion, moreover, were now reinforced by the hospitality of his accomplished wife, in successive homes in New College Lane. In 1928 he was an energetic and rather unconventional Proctor, his colleague from Worcester being another ex-officer. In later years he devoted much thought, tact, and patience to secure for the younger people cheap and easy access to Greek lands, under the guidance of himself and his friends. These voyages took him as far afield as Cyprus, to the antiquities of which he began to devote his attention, attracted perhaps by the technical problems of Cypriote sculpture and certainly by the chance that the Cypriote script might offer a clue to the Minoan. Always an impressive lecturer, he was at his best on an open-air site, reconstructing temple and portico and peopling them vividly with Hellenic craftsmen and votaries—or confronted with great original sculpture in the museums of Delphi and Olympia. He did not lecture much outside Oxford, but gave some pioneer courses at the University of Bristol, and held a visiting Professorship at Bowdoin College, Maine, in 1933–34 which he combined with visits to the chief American museums. Nor did he recur to field work, except to explore the Hippodrome at Constantinople in 1928–29, for the British Academy, a difficult and rather thankless enterprise.

Only when his Macedonian book was finished did he begin to publish those studies of sculpture, Hellenic and modern, by which he is perhaps best known among scholars. They cover both technical processes and canons of style, and combine observations of minute detail with vigorous criticism and exposition of principles. These books were his chief output from 1928 to 1935.

They were followed, about the time of his first Mediterranean cruises and his American visit, by more general and popular essays: a historical retrospect of the *Progress of Archaeology*, which was much needed as the study became more widespread; an even wider retrospect, *The Discovery of Man*; and an excursion into the philosophy of history, entitled *Progress and Catastrophe*; the last two written in 1937 and 1939 under a deepening apprehension of the trend of events, and the desire to do something for Progress before Catastrophe came.

He had already set down his war memories in 1935 in a brilliant and caustic narrative. In 1939 he joined the Intelligence Corps at once, and published in an Oxford series a short account of Greece which is the best thing of its kind. He was nearly captured when the Netherlands were invaded; he served in the British Mission with the Greek Army, and on the staff of the British Expeditionary Force in Greece; and he wrote what was permissible about those dark days, with all his vivid insight and enthusiasm. Then after valuable service at home, the moment seemed to be near when all his energy, knowledge, and local skill and prestige might find congenial and ample outlet. But this was not to be. On ' active service ' already, he found a soldier's end. As the Greek Government's representative wrote, ' Stanley Casson will live in the hearts of all the Greeks and those who had the privilege of meeting him, as myself, will always preserve the memory of his kindness and nobility.' And in the Greek journal *Hellas* you will find his epitaph:

' The monuments he loved in peace
He strove to shield in war,
And gave his life for them and Greece
Upon a distant shore.

' His memory will remain fragrant among all Greeks.'

A career of so many aspects and episodes, cut short in middle life—Casson was only fifty-four, and to most of us he seemed much younger—must seem in some respects incomposite; and Casson himself changed his course repeatedly, when he had satisfied his need to know, or made what he judged to be his proper contribution to knowledge. He made up his mind rapidly, and seldom changed it. One of his most characteristic writings, his introduction to *Ancient Greece*, was mature work when it appeared in 1922: when he reissued it in 1939 it was almost without alteration in the text, for (as he wrote) ' I doubt if I could recapture that atmosphere of peaceful reflection which was so characteristic of the first quiet post-war years '.

There is, however, in his later writing an appeal to a wider public, on larger issues. He had been elected, for good cause, an honorary associate of the Royal Institute of British Architects, and his more than speculative interest in town-planning, in Oxford and, long before, in Salonica after the great fire, is another pointer. He had felt the need for the New Jerusalem, and he felt it in him with sword and pen to make some contribution to progress, which might mitigate if not avert catastrophe. And if his *Progress and Catastrophe* was prophecy—history warning by examples—his *Greece and Britain*, published only last year, was an essay in the continuity of history, a study of the Byzantine foundations of our Europe, and an appeal for practical Hellenism. For as he had written long before, ' This freshness of spirit and clearness of outlook was in the nature of the people of Ancient Greece ', ' there is in all the products of Greece a literal inspiration—a breathing-in of their temporal and physical environment. . . . And they were destined for posterity.' ' To call the language, art, and culture of Greece dead, is to beg the very question at issue.' ' We, with our centuries of abstract religious training behind us, find it hard to see the Greek point of view. . . . First perfect yourself and your capacities, and then, when you can use them, think hard on what is behind, beneath, and above you. That, roughly, is the Greek way of being religious.' ' It may be asked ', he added, ' what *we* have in common with ancient Greece. It will be sufficient answer if we say that we have common ideals. The Greek strove, as we strive, to think clearly, to act justly, and to live freely. Religion then, to the ancient Greek, was largely his own affair, the choice of the individual. Today we seem to have much the same state of affairs in our own country.'

And so too in more material things: ' A great city cannot thrive in a wilderness, unless it conquers the wilderness; if it does not prevail, the wilderness comes once more into its own '—and this was written some ten years before Rostovtseff's *Social and Economic History*. ' Everything which concerned man was of a nature which " admitted of being otherwise ", as Aristotle said. It was man's task then to control it, as far as possible, and understand it according to his standards; to form his own tests, his own theories of action, and guide his hand by methods which he had to invent, for the most part, by himself.'

Still more did this apply to the arts, and was fundamental in Casson's own view of sculpture, ancient and modern. ' Sculpture in stone was an integral part of the artistic life of the people, and never a mere artistic luxury. [The sculptor] supplied needs rather than created luxuries. The ancient Greek could not imagine a statue which had not a destination. . . . [The sculptor] had a position tantamount to that of a civil servant.' For Casson this teleological aspect was fundamental and inspiring. Sculpture, for him, was an exceptionally delicate and eloquent mode of self-expression, and an appeal to national appreciation and outlook; it must therefore be considered in its surroundings and historical setting. To appreciate sculpture, and to create sculpture, something more was needed than technique and individual insight into the significance of form. ' To me,' he wrote, ' an intellectual interest [in a work of art] consists in those qualities in it which stimulate me to discover *how* the artist

did it, what is the underlying composition, how his effects are created, why certain arrangements of colour and form are chosen. . . . The artist alone knows what art is, and the rest of the world mostly spends its time asking him to explain', as Casson himself thought it necessary to do about the New Bodleian.

Like all his generation Casson had had his life twice broken across by war; and it is in the 'first quiet post-war years'—may we hope, 'of peaceful reflection'—that we here shall feel the loss of so stalwart an exponent of the gospel of Greece.

For behind critical smile and cynical phrase, Casson was an optimist. Capable of great happiness, and exceptionally happy in the congenial companionship of his wife and an adored and adoring daughter, 'more precious than his own life,' he set himself with his characteristic gifts and outlook, as a practical Hellenist, to preach the good tidings of true and beautiful things wherever found. Side by side with colleagues and pupils here, artists and many friends in the larger world and in the services, there will be many simple souls on Greek hillsides who treasure his sturdy presence, his bluff address, his humorous intolerance of all shams and conventions, his capacity for friendship and leadership, his tender humanity in any kind of distress. When such a man passes beyond this world, which he loved and enjoyed, let the trumpets sound for him on the other side. In the words of one who knew him best, 'We must not be sad: he was never sad'.

JOHN L. MYRES.

JOHN DEVITT STRINGFELLOW PENDLEBURY

(With Plate 2)

I

Born in London on 12 October, 1904, and educated at Winchester and Pembroke College, Cambridge, John Pendlebury was early attracted to Greek studies. While still at school, he spent an Easter vacation in the Ægean, and as Cambridge University Student of the British School (1927–28) he reached Athens by way of the Balkan countries and Constantinople. In Crete his exceptional qualities were at once recognised by Sir Arthur Evans, but his first experience of excavation was with W. A. Heurtley in Macedonia. In 1928 he married Miss Hilda White, a fellow student of the School, who shared all his work henceforward. In the same winter he joined the staff of the Egypt Excavation Society at Arment, and thereafter at Tell-el-Amarna, whither he returned as Director in 1930 for seven years, spending the off-seasons in Crete for a while as Curator of Knossos, and publishing his *Handbook to the Palace of Knossos* in 1933, and *The Archaeology of Crete* in 1939. His *Aegyptiaca* had already appeared in 1930. In 1939 he completed his excavation of the highland Cretan site, Karphi Lasithi; and when war seemed imminent he was enrolled in the Reserve of Officers. After cavalry training, he was sent to Crete as Vice-Consul at Candia, and became liaison officer with the Greek forces. Here he was wounded and killed during the invasion.

An appreciation of his work as a scholar, by S. R. K. Glanville, appeared in *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vol. 28, 1942, p. 61. J. L. M.

II

John Pendlebury when I met him at Mycenae on his first visit to Greece—before he went up to Cambridge—told me then of his desire and intention to become an archaeologist and that he had already begun to learn Egyptian hieroglyphs. On that occasion, too, he much impressed me by his anxiety to see things for himself, so as to be able to form a fresh, independent, first-hand idea of them.

Thus, though he obtained a first class, with distinction in archaeology, in the Classical Tripos at Cambridge, it is not surprising that his first publication should have been concerned with Egyptology. This, *Aegyptiaca*, displayed both his original interest in Egyptology and also his desire to see the actual objects which he described and discussed. This book, too, gave him an opportunity for combining his early attraction towards Egypt with his strong and growing interest in the earliest days of Greece. He catalogued, according to the sites at which they had been found in Greece, all the Egyptian objects of which he could obtain knowledge, and so provided Greek archaeologists with trustworthy descriptions and accurate dates. The dating of such objects is, of course, of paramount importance for the dating both of the strata in which they were found and of the other objects found with them, and helps to build up the chronology of early Greece.

After taking his degree, Pendlebury began that series of journeys and explorations in the Near East which was to confirm his reputation as an archaeologist. After travel in Greece, and taking part in Heurtley's excavations in Macedonia, he not unnaturally turned to Egypt. There, at the start as member of the party excavating at Amarna and afterwards as leader of it, he learnt at first-hand the art and culture of the Amarna period. By his publications of the results of the excavations which he carried on for seven years he showed that he was able to place the Amarna culture in its right perspective both from the Egyptian and from what may

be termed the international aspect. In his contributions to the official and scientific account of the Amarna excavations he recorded the archaeological facts simply and clearly, and interpreted them lucidly, and in doing so displayed two of the essential qualities of a good excavator. At the same time his small book on Amarna gave the world at large an easily intelligible and straightforward account of Akhenaton's city, its culture, and its life. It is not every archaeologist who can convey readily to the " man in the street " the meaning and the historical and cultural value of his excavations.

Pendlebury was from the beginning essentially a field archaeologist, and it was in Crete that he found full play for his talents. He had already visited and travelled in Crete, and when in the season 1929–30 he became Curator of Knossos in succession to Dr. Duncan Mackenzie, he took every advantage of his opportunities. He first assisted Sir Arthur Evans in his last supplementary investigations in and around the Palace of Minos, and at the same time by wide travels throughout the island he enlarged his knowledge of everything pertaining to ancient Crete. Here his excellent knowledge of things Minoan and post-Minoan enabled him to form a good idea of the importance of remains observed on the surface and to interpret accounts given by Cretans of accidental discoveries of antiquities.

His Knossian work is represented by an admirable excavation report on proto-palatial houses, written in conjunction with his wife, by his *Handbook to the Palace of Minos*, and by his detailed description of the Stratigraphic Museum at Knossos. The *Handbook to the Palace* is an admirable piece of work, concise and clear. It answers most of the questions which an intelligent visitor would wish to ask, and at the same time provides the archaeologist with a sure foundation for further study. His account of the Stratigraphic Museum is now invaluable, in view of the disturbances caused by the war, and irreplaceable. It presents the stratigraphic evidence for the dating of the different sections of the Palace and of their strata, and enables the archaeologist to check thereby the published accounts and plans. It gives the basic essential facts on which the chronology is founded, and is an excellent illustration of Pendlebury's intimate knowledge of the Palace and of his patience in sorting and recording an enormous number of pottery fragments. Thus the guides to the Palace and to its Stratigraphic Museum are indispensable adjuncts to Evans' monumental, but labyrinthine *Palace of Minos*.

In 1936 Pendlebury began a series of excavations in the Lasethi area which continued till 1939. These brought fresh and important information about the population and culture of the district at the very dawn of Minoan civilisation and again at its close, at the transition from the age of bronze to the age of iron, one of the darkest periods of Cretan history. Here Pendlebury, as always, wisely combined archaeological reconnaissance of the neighbourhood with excavation of the site chosen. The publications of the results of these excavations are models of their kind. They show the fine co-operative spirit which existed between the leader and his fellow-workers, and also his wide interest in anything which concerned the site. The excavation report, for instance, concludes with an account of the flora of Lasethi.

The climax, however, of Pendlebury's archaeological work is his *Archaeology of Crete*. This deals with all the ancient periods of the island, prehistoric and historic, and the remains of them which can still be observed or have been excavated. It collects into a comparatively small compass all that is known, and classifies the remains according to their periods. As the fruit of a personal archaeological survey of Crete carried out during many years, it shows Pendlebury's intimate acquaintance with all aspects of the island, its history, and its life. Especially noteworthy are the efforts made to trace the ancient routes, to note the harbours, and to record variations in the density of population from one period to another and to compare ancient with modern conditions. Pendlebury gives in this unpretentious, but most learned

book a summary and a synthesis of Cretan archaeology which will long remain a standard work and will probably always be used by any scholar studying the history and archaeology of the island. Best of all is the fact that the book is the product of his own direct explorations and his own verifications of what had been observed previously. Here is an account of Crete not compiled in a library, but on the spot, and under the influence of fresh, personal investigation of the actual remains. There could be no better evidence than this book of what can be accomplished by field archaeology, by personal exploration without excavation, by combining knowledge and observation. It is an example which should be followed by anyone who in the future may wish to present a similar account of some district of Greece or of one of the islands. It had been hoped that Pendlebury would have turned his attention to one of the Cyclades, where so excellent an explorer would have found much of great interest. He had, indeed, begun, but fate prevented the completion of these plans.

His archaeological work is enough to place Pendlebury in the first rank as a field archaeologist. He was an excellent excavator, a keen and patient observer, and there has never been a better explorer of Crete, in which field he was the peer of Spratt and Evans.

A. J. B. Wace.

III

John Devitt Stringfellow Pendlebury, born on October 12, 1904, died in Crete on or about 24 May, 1941. He had been placed on the reserve of officers in August 1939, and was gazetted Captain in May 1940. He was appointed British Vice-Consul at Candia in June, and on the arrival of British forces in Crete in November was made Liaison Officer with the Greek troops. The manner of his death is not known. It is certain however that towards the end of the resistance on the island, and when Heraklion was hard pressed, Pendlebury led a charge from the Canea Gate of the town, with the object of relieving hard-pressed Greek troops. It is possible that he was killed outright in this action, but more probable that he was badly wounded. A fellow-officer believes that he was taken back by his faithful Cretans to his house, presumably at Lasithi, where he died shortly after. It is also related that he led his last charge with his famous swordstick in his hand. I like to think this true, for such an heroic gesture would be characteristic.

The enduring impression of my first meeting with Pendlebury in his rooms at Pembroke in 1923 is the neatness and orderliness of the man, and an indefinable air of restrained power. He did not work, like the ordinary run of undergraduate, in a litter of texts, lexicons, papers, and notebooks, and he was always manifestly in training. My portrait of Pendlebury at nineteen is of a friendly athlete sitting on a hard chair with one book open, the book he was reading. It might be the *Iliad* or the latest volume of *The Palace of Minos*, or it might be Maurice Hewlett's *Forest Lovers*. In these formative years Pendlebury came to see the past through the spectacles of the romantic, or rather the chivalrous, and I believe that these sentiments grew with the years, until they crystallised into the shining core of the mature man who died defending Crete from the latest of a long line of invaders. This appeal of the chivalrous called to the heart and the mind with equal insistence. The Knighthood of Crete, of Egypt and of the Middle Ages beckoned and called to one of their kin, and never did man respond with more delight. Pendlebury was completely happy in his work, with that happiness which comes of the union of mind and emotion.

Pendlebury was an archaeologist in the grand tradition. Even before he left Winchester his mind was firmly set on following down the paths which Schliemann and Evans had blazed through the Heroic Age. Cambridge was a preparation for the field work on which he

embarked as soon as he left the University, and though he read Classics with distinction, he did not show or admit much enthusiasm for the Greece and Rome of the Golden Age, any more than for textual criticism or Greek iambics. This is not to say that he lacked the capacities or the instincts of a good and careful scholar; all his work was sound and scholarly. But to him scholarship was an instrument to be used, not a vocation in itself.

To these gifts of intellect and qualities of imagination Pendlebury added exceptional physical stamina and athletic powers. The endurance and skill which earned him a Blue at Cambridge, where he jumped six feet against Oxford, a height not then exceeded since 1876, stood him in good stead in his scientific work, and he could out-walk and out-jump any Cretan mountaineer. He took a singular pleasure in this athletic virtuosity, which indeed was his only vanity. For the rest I do not believe that he ever gave his archaeological achievements a thought; they were his life, and he lived it hard all the time, with an enthusiasm which those with whom he came in contact were impelled to share. Nothing he touched but sprang to vivid life. The following remarks of the fellow-officer already cited illustrate the effect of his joyous personality on an acquaintance who had nothing in common with his scientific work:

> "He was a mine of information on Crete, and always had a good story to tell of every acre of the island. His love for the island seemed to be the great passion of his life, and he made everyone share it. There are many who knew him who are determined to go back there, to renew the pleasure to which he introduced them."

It was this enthusiasm for the present as well as the past which made Pendlebury so invigorating a companion, and a natural leader of men. The war and the opportunity for service brought to their highest expression the chivalrous and heroic instincts which appealed to him from the past. He died, as he had lived, a paladin.

Pendlebury married in 1928 Hilda White, a fellow student of the British School of Archaeology at Athens, his constant companion, with whom much of his work was done in collaboration. He leaves a boy and a girl.

PIERSON DIXON.

JAMES O. EWART.

1917–1945.

ONE who has taught Greek to Honours Classes for over thirty years has naturally taught many men of promise. It has been my sore fate to offer the tribute of a teacher and a friend to the memory of the two among all my students of whom I expected most. First it was James C. Watson, called amid universal acclaim to an important Chair at the age of 29 and killed in action as an Ordinary Seaman on H.M.S. *Jaguar* in 1942. Now it is Colonel James O. Ewart, who fought unscathed from El Alamein to the Rhine, to be killed after the Armistice by a skidding car.

Ewart was born in 1917. He was at George Watson's from 1929 to 1935, leaving as Dux. He entered Edinburgh University as Dundas Bursar in 1935, subsequently winning the Spence Bursary, the George Scott Travelling Scholarship, and the Mackenzie Scholarship in Classics and English Literature. Each summer vacation from 1934 onwards he spent travelling on the Continent, visiting in turn Germany, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria, and finally Greece, which he visited before his final year at Edinburgh, and again before the outbreak of the War, in the course of a study of Greek theatres which ranged from Sicily to Asia Minor. He spoke German, French, Italian and Greek.

Ewart was not a facile linguist, and he paid in hard work for the workmanlike grasp he

acquired of his ancient and modern tongues. In analytical power and in his sense of form and appreciation of value in literature I have never known an undergraduate who approached him. In the Michaelmas Term of 1938 we read the *Agamemnon* and as an essay question in the Christmas Terminal I mentioned several editions of the play and asked for a comparative review of three of them. Ewart responded with an essay on Sidgwick, Verrall and Headlam, that could have taken its place as it stood in a first-class History of Classical Scholarship—the maturest piece of work I ever read in an examination paper.

And what of the might-have-been, *si qua fata aspera rupisset* ? After the Army went over the Rhine he wrote me a letter—which somehow I had expected—telling me of the various careers that seemed to lie open to him on demobilisation, but saying that he was attracted most of all by an academic career in the field of history and politics. I replied suggesting Modern Greats, and asked him to await the answer to a letter I was writing to a friend in Oxford. In that letter I made bold to say that the College which admitted Ewart would in all probability be choosing its future Head. With my friend's reply came the news of Ewart's death.

W. M. Calder.

DAVID JOHN WALLACE

1914–1944.

David John Wallace, son of Captain the Rt. Hon. David Euan Wallace, was born in 1914 and educated at Eton and Balliol, where he was president of the Junior Common Room. After taking a first class in Greats, and obtaining a Harmsworth Senior Scholarship at Merton College, he spent two years as a Student of the British School at Athens, and devoted himself to the study of Byzantine art. In 1938 he surveyed the sites of medieval fortifications in central Greece, the southern Peloponnese, and the Cyclades, and in 1938–39 surveyed the Frankish castles. He married a fellow-student, Miss Prudence Magor.

On the outbreak of war, Wallace served for two years as Press Attaché to the British Legation at Athens, and was evacuated when Greece was invaded in 1941. In July 1943 he returned to Greece as liaison officer with the Greek guerilla forces in Epirus; but after a few months of brilliant military activity he was transferred to an administrative post in Cairo, where his knowledge of Greek politics was of great value. But his heart was with the fighting men, and after a while he was released for service in Greece, and was in continuous active enterprise with the guerilla bands in Epirus.

In August 1944 he took part in an assault by the 3/40th Evzone Regiment, under Lt.-Col. Agoras, on the German fortified post at Menina, between Preveza and Paramythia, covering communications and supplies. The attack reached the fortified houses which encircled the town, and here Wallace was hit and killed immediately by machine-gun fire.

On his tombstone his Greek comrades carved the epitaph: ' The soil of Greece is proud to offer hospitality to this hero.'

Wallace was a fine classical scholar, a keen traveller and explorer, with a wide interest in politics, art and antiquities, deep understanding of Greek people and problems, wide capacity for friendship and leadership, and high diplomatic and military distinction. With striking appearance and slight build he combined, in the words of one who knew him at Merton, ' a queer physical toughness and enduring quality. He looked as if he were meant for the arts, but his real métier was for action, and he found what he wanted.' His work at the School was planned on broad lines, but it is doubtful how much had reached a stage where publication will be possible.

John L. Myres.

MINIATURE PANATHENAICS

WITH PLATES 3–5

STEPHANI, in *Compte-rendu* for 1876, pp. 55–6 and pl. 1, 4–7, published two small black-figure vases which he saw to be imitations of Panathenaic amphorae, but serving a different purpose: they were doubtless *lekythia*, intended to contain small quantities of scented oil, perhaps, he conjectured, the perfume *panathenaikon* which long held its own in the market (Pliny 13, 6: *Panathenaicum suum Athenae pertinaciter obtinuere*). A good many such vases have appeared since Stephani wrote, and the class has been studied by other writers, among them Jacobsthal (*Gött. V.* 15–16), Pfuhl (333), Miss Shoe (*Hesp.* 1, 86), F. P. Johnson (*AJA* 1943, 393). I shall try to examine them more closely, date them more precisely, and set them in a context: the article will be a sort of appendix to *Panathenaica*, my study of the prize vases in *AJA* 1943, 441–65.

A. *Miniature Panathenaics*

The heights range between 0·075 and 0·093 m. The fabric is the same throughout: the same potter, or the same workshop. Nos. 1–11 were painted by one hand, nos. 12 and 13 probably by the same, perhaps also no. 14. Nos. 17–24 are not from this hand. No. 18 is in much the same style as no. 17, and no. 19 is not far off. No. 16 resembles no. 15, and no. 23 no. 22.

1. Munich, from Cumae. A, *Anz.* 1916, 67; Pfuhl, figs. 302–3. A, Athena; B, torch-racer.
2. New York 41. 162. 53 (ex Gallatin). *CV* Gall. pl. 40, 3; Pl. 3, 1. A, Athena; B, torch-racer seated on a hydria.
3. New York 41. 162. 52 (ex Gallatin). *CV* Gall. pl. 40, 2; Pl. 3, 2. A, Athena; B, athlete seated.
4. Louvre MNB 3225, from Athens. *CV* III H g pl. 6, 8–9. A, Athena; B, athlete seated.
5. Louvre MNB 3224, from Greece. *CV* III H g pl. 6, 10 and 12. A, torch-racer; B, athlete seated.
6. Leningrad. *CR* 1876 pl. 1, 6–7. A, runner; B, athlete seated.
7. Cracow inv. 1263. *CV* pl. 6, 5. A, Athena; B, torch-racer.
8. Corinth, from Corinth. B, *Hesp.* 1, 87 fig. 27. A, Athena; B, athlete.
9. Chicago, Univ., from Greece. *AJA* 1943, 392, fig. 7. A, Athena; B, runner.
10. Goettingen J. 25, from Greece. B, Jacobsthal *Gött. V.* pl. 7, 23. A, Athena; B, torch-racer seated. On the neck the usual white flower.
11. Paris market (Geladakis), from Greece. A, *Coll. E.G.*[1] pl. 2, 51, whence Pl. 3, 3. A, runner; B, athlete seated.
12. Cassel. B, *Anz.* 1898, 192 fig. 11. A, Athena; B, torch-racer.
13. Leningrad (ex Novikov), from Kerch or near? (Eltegen?). On one side, torch-racer (moving to l., torch in r. hand: cf. the last). The vase is known to me from a book given to the Ashmolean by Sir Oliver Wardrop, which contains photographs of objects in the Novikov collection. Wardrop wrote that A. V. Novikov 'carried on excavations for many years on his wife's estate at Elteghen (Nymphaeum) on Kerch Strait'; cf. Minns *Scythians and Greeks* 560.
14. Leningrad (St. 2213). *CR* 1876 pl. 1, 4–5. A, Athena. B, youth? (dancing). Stephani does not mention any restorations, but both sides seem to be heavily restored: the alternative, that the draughtsman has distorted the style, is unlikely, for the drawings in *CR* are generally careful. Doubtful, then, if the figure on B was really draped.
15. New York 06. 1021. 156, from Greece. B, *Coll. E.G.* pl. 5, 125; A, Richter and Milne fig. 27; Pl. 3, 6. A, Athena; B, athlete seated.
16. Paris market (Geladakis), from Greece. B, *Coll. E.G.* pl. 5, 113, whence Pl. 3, 4. A, Athena; B, athlete seated.
17. Boston 99. 521. Pl. 3, 5. A, Athena; B, athlete. Ht. 081. From the Forman collection (C. Smith *Forman Coll.* no. 315). Mentioned in *Annual Report* 1899, 63 no. 19.
18. Boston 98. 929. Pl. 3, 7. A, Athena; B, Eros. Ht. 086. Mentioned in *Annual Report* 1898, 65 no. 38, whence *Anz* 1899, 144 no. 38 and Pfuhl 333.
19. Copenhagen inv. 6337, from Eretria. A, *CV* pl. 105, 2. A, Athena; B, athlete seated.
20. London 94. 7–18. 4, from Eretria. B, *JHS* 18, 300; *CV* III H f pl. 5, 2. A, Athena; B, torch-racer.
21. Louvre MNB 2862, from Thespiai. *CV* III H g pl. 5, 2 and 4. A, Athena; B, boxer.
22. Louvre CA 71, from Tanagra. *CV* III H g pl. 5, 6–7. A, Athena; B, athletes (evidently not 'wrestlers', as Pottier).
23. Once Deepdene, Hope. Tillyard pl. 5, 28. A, Athena; B, torch-racers.

The following is larger (ht. 0·15) and stands apart in several respects: but the fabric is the same.

24. London B602, from Cyrenaica. *CV* III H f pl. 5, 5. A, Athena; B, athletes.

[1] 'E.G.', often mentioned in this article, was the Paris dealer Edouard Geladakis. Perhaps I may be allowed to correct an error in *ARV*: I took 'E.' of *Collection M.E.* to be the same man: but I now remember Mr. Plaoutine telling me that 'E.' was E[vangelos Triantaphyllos] and not E[douard Geladakis].

It is hardly by chance that Geladakis owned so many vases of our group or near it: they may all have come from a single tomb, or adjacent tombs.

I have no note of the following: α is described by Watzinger, γ and δ mentioned by Miss Shoe, ε by Jacobsthal.

α. Tübingen E 187. A, Athena; B, athlete seated.
β. Berlin 1834, from Corinth. A, Athena; B, winged figure.
γ. Athens 12288.
δ. Athens 12397.
ε. Bonn. On one side, torch-racer.

Date.—It is fair to assume that these little imitations of Panathenaics reflect *contemporary* prize-vases. In all but one of them (no. 23) Athena faces to left: these vases should be earlier than 348, for at some time between 359 and 348 the prize Athena began to face the other way.[1] Again, two of the midgets, nos. 21 and 24, have columns with cocks on them: these cock-columns still appear in the 'Kuban' group of prize-vases,[2] which belong to the last years of the fifth century; but the Berlin amphora inv. 3980,[3] which may have borne the name of the archon [Philokle]s, 392–1 B.C., already has 'symbols' instead of cocks, and so has the amphora in Salonica (Robinson *Olynthus* 5 pl. 61 and pp. 88–9), which must be earlier than the Philokles vase, though later than the Kuban group, with which it is connected as a sort of unkempt straggler.[4] It looks as if the *model* of the midgets was created in the period of the Kuban group, a little before 400; once established it may have lasted a good while longer without much change. The shape of the midgets would agree with such a date, although in view of the great difference of scale details of shape cannot be pressed. The style of the drawing, so far as one can judge, suggests the very end of the fifth century, or the early fourth. The Eros on Boston 98.929 (no. 18: Pl. 3, 7) is still in the Meidian manner. The rendering of the eye in the Cassel midget (no. 12), wide open, with the line of the lower lid very short, recalls the name-piece of the Kuban group, the amphora in Leningrad from the Kuban (*Anz.* 1914, 287 figs. 108–9: *Izv. Mat. Kult.* 3 pl. 3), and the Berlin [Philokle]s vase, as well as early fourth-century red-figure (for instance, the bell-krater Naples 3245, Overbeck *KM* pl. 16, 16). Another argument may perhaps be taken from the unusual technique of the decoration on the neck of the miniature panathenaics, a white flower or palmette on a black background. There are a few Attic red-figured vases in which the black neck is decorated with a white design: the Pelops neck-amphora in Arezzo (*FR* pl. 67: *ARV* 793, foot) has a white sphinx on one side of the neck, a white heron on the other; five neck-amphorae by the Suessula painter (*ARV* 852–3 nos. 1–5; Richter in *Bull. Metr.* 1945, 168–9) have white palmettes on the neck. Now the date of the Pelops vase must be about 420–410 B.C. The vases of the Suessula painter are somewhat later: a small fragment by him, or hardly distinguishable from his work, and at the same stage of development as the neck-amphorae, was found in the tomb of the Lacedaemonians who fell in 403 B.C. (*Anz.* 1937, 194, fig. 13, 3: *ARV* 853, middle).

In *one* of the midgets (no. 23), Athena faces *right* instead of left. This may be a freak, just as on a small panathenaic of the early fifth century in Munich (J. 488) the goddess faces not left but right: but it is perhaps natural to connect it with the change of direction that takes place in the prize vases, as we saw above, some time between 359 and 348. If we do so, the Hope vase will be later than 359 and earlier than 348. On other grounds we should place it at the end of our series: for the Athena is unusually slender, and the figures are in pure silhouette: not only is there no incision, but there is no white either. The vase most like it is no. 22, Louvre CA 71: but there white is used, and the goddess still faces left.

[1] *AJA* 1943, 457.
[2] *Ibid.* 453–4; on the date, Süsserott *Gr. Plastik des 4. Jahrhunderts vor Christus*, 69–72 and 205–6.
[3] On the reading and date, Süsserott *op. cit.* 74.
[4] *AJA* 1943, 454.

The use of *white* in these midgets is characteristic, and four particulars may be noted. First: in nos. 1–4, 6, 8, 9, 11, the tongues on the shoulder are white, and this white is laid direct on the clay, without underpaint; in nos. 10, 12, 14–20 and 22 the tongues are black, but the lines enclosing them are white. Second: the black necks of the vases are decorated, as we saw, on each side, with a white flower. Third: the pictures are often bounded at the sides by white lines. Fourth: in nos. 1, 2, 3, 7, and 9 the device on Athena's shield is a white cross with dots between the arms.[1] All these uses of white are rare, and they all connect the group of miniature Panathenaics with another, much more numerous group of small vases, decorated sometimes with scales, more often with network, which was assembled by the Polish scholar Bulas in *BCH* 1932, 388–98. The list given by Bulas in his excellent article was substantially increased by Miss Haspels (*ABL* 167–8 note 3).

B. *Miniature pointed amphorae*

Three of these, nos. 1, 2 and 7, were put together by Bulas (*BCH* 1932, 392).

1. Athens 2300. *BCH* 1932 pl. 21, 10.
2. Copenhagen inv. 6447, from Rhodes. *CV* pl. 183, 4.
3. Heidelberg. *Sg. Vogell* pl. 3, 27, whence Pl. 3, 8.
4. London 1926. 4–10. 39.
5. Once Carlsruhe, Vogell. *Sg. Vogell* pl. 3, 31, whence Pl. 3, 9. Much restored (*ibid.* p. 102).
6. Yale 177. Baur 115 fig. 41, 4.
7. London 96. 2–1. 99, from Curium. Murray *Exc. Cypr.* 76 fig. 139, 10.

No. 1, Athens 2300, shares with the group of miniature panathenaics those peculiar white details to which we have drawn attention: for, first, there are white tongues at the base, and the white is laid direct on the clay; secondly, above the tongues, on black, there are white flowers, and those of the same type as in the miniature panathenaics; thirdly, these flowers alternate with white crosses having white dots between the arms—the same ornament as the characteristic shield-device on the panathenaics; fourthly, the three white lines running round the body recall the white lines bounding the panathenaic pictures at the sides. Further, the foot of the vase is naturally not the same as in the miniature panathenaics, but, just as there, the base curves well round towards it, and the upper section of the foot sets sharply off from the base, is large, and is reserved.

In the egg-pattern on the shoulder, the white seems to be laid direct on the clay, as in the tongues. The white flowers on the shoulder are of the same type as in the lower band, only larger and a little more elaborate: it may be worth mentioning that the big stars which alternate with the flowers on the shoulder are a favourite ornament in that Kuban group of prize-vases with which we judged the group of miniature panathenaics, or at least the earliest of them, to be contemporary.

I think it will be agreed that there is a very close connection between Athens 2300 and the miniature panathenaics.

No. 2, Copenhagen inv. 6447, is inseparable from Athens 2300: the same shape, foot and all; white tongues, laid direct on the clay, at the base; the white crosses on the black band above them; white flowers on the broader black band; white filling, laid direct on the clay, in the egg-pattern on the shoulder; white lines running round the vase. The details of no. 3, the Heidelberg vase, are not all clear in the reproduction: the shoulder tongues are alternately white and black, with relief-lines separating them; below them, a white tendril on the black band; then a reserved stripe with a white line in the middle; a

[1] In 17 and 18 the device, obscure in the photographs, is a small white quatrefoil: Dr. Caskey has kindly sent me drawings by Miss Chapman.

black stripe; the network with white dots; a white line; a black band with faded white ornaments on it (flowers and the usual crosses?); a reserved band with two white lines on it; a row of white dots; and a white band. In no. 4, London 1926. 4–10. 39: white tongues, laid directly on the clay, separated by relief-lines; a black band with a white line on it; network with white dots; and a succession of black and reserved bands with white lines. Of no. 5 (Pl. 3, 9) I know nothing more than may be seen in the reproduction. No. 6, the Yale vase, is much simpler. No. 7, London 96. 2–1. 99, goes with it; it is smaller than the rest, and less slender.

Bulas' list includes the following, of which I have no note:—

Louvre inv. Myr. 579, from Myrina.

A *scale*-amphoriskos, as Bulas saw (*BCH* 1932, 393 no. 1), belongs to the same group as these *net*-amphoriskoi. It has the same somewhat fuller body as the small net-vase London 96. 2–1./99. The white dots on the scales are laid direct on the clay. The drawing is rather hasty:—

Bonn inv. 798, from Greece. *BCH* 1932 pl. 21, 4; *CV* pl. 40, 6.

Bulas puts with this another scale-amphoriskos of which I have no note: it is in Chalcis, from Chalcis.

A third scale-amphoriskos, in Brindisi (*Anz.* 1928, 334, fig. 54), is connected with the Bonn vase and probably comes from the same fabric. The foot is of the usual type, but the mouth is abnormal: the upper section has a groove on it and the lower section several. The scales also are unusual: white outline, black spot, white dot: the same technique, it seems, as in a squat lekythos to be described later (p. 17). Notice that a white line runs round the top of the body.[1]

A fourth scale-amphoriskos, as it should be, is known to me from a few words in a sale catalogue, and I cannot say if it belongs to our group: it is the 'small amphora with scale decoration', 11 cm. high, from Boeotia, mentioned in *Griechische Ausgrabungen* (Munich, Helbing, 27–28 June 1910) no. 153.

What is the relation of this group of amphoriskoi to the very numerous black vases of the type with impressed decoration,[2] and to the seven red-figure ones? The impressed amphoriskoi range from large and fine to small and rougher, and the patterns vary, but they may be said to form a pretty homogeneous group with a 'standard' version of the shape. Of the red-figured amphoriskoi, Oxford 537, decorated by the Eretria painter (*CV* pl. 40, 3–5: *ARV* 725 no. 8), Boston 00. 355 (A, *VA* 179 fig. 111; shape, Caskey *G.* 82; *ARV* 731, foot), not far from the Eretria painter, and Berlin inv. 30036 (FR pl. 170, 2 and iii, 313: *ARV* 738, foot, no. 1), by the Heimarmene painter, go with the finest of the impressed, and are of standard shape. It may be asked whether the shape was created to be decorated in red-figure or with impressed patterns; and I should incline to red-figure. The New York Adrastos vase (19. 1912. 44: A, Richter and Milne fig. 30; Richter and Hall pl. 156, 157), contemporary with the three, is not of standard shape: body and neck are broader, the handles stand further away from the neck, the neck has no 'collar', and there is no distinct foot: this is the creation of a different potter. The four vases may be dated about 430–425, the Berlin Heimarmene being a trifle later than the others. The decoration of Louvre CA 330 is not exactly Meidian, but it is not far off, and the date should be about 410; standard

[1] Bologna 45 (Pellegrini *VF* 19), cited by Miss Haspels (*ABL* 168), does not belong to this group.

[2] On these see *CV* Oxford 31 on pl. 40, 10 and Miss Talcott in *Hesp.* 4, 490 and 517–18. Michigan 4667 (*CV* pl. 20, 1) is a special fourth-century model.

shape, though the foot is somewhat unusual. Athens 12548 (Pl. 4, 10, after phot. Alinari 24484, 3) [1] at last brings us near our group: standard shape, except the base and foot, which approximate to those of our group, especially the scale-vase in Bonn (above, p. 13). The drawing still has a certain Meidian flavour, and the date is probably the last decade of the fifth century, perhaps nearer the end than the beginning of the decade: the period then, as we supposed, in which the miniature Panathenaic was created. One red-figured amphoriskos remains, the latest, Louvre CA 1892, by the Worst Painter (*ARV* 858 no. 1), but unfortunately I have no exact note of the shape. A red-figured amphoriskos in Oxford, 1936–612, from Greece, is Boeotian of the late fifth century (*A*, woman with mirror and kalathos; *B*, woman with basket); New York 26.60.18 (*A*, Richter *Etr.* fig. 129) is Etruscan: neither resembles ours.

C. *Almond amphoriskoi.*

There are a good many vases in which the mouth, neck, handles are those of the standard pointed amphoriskos, but the body takes the form of an almond.[2] These vases no doubt contained almond oil, still a valued cleanser and base for perfumed oils produced by the maceration of flowers. The body is usually reserved and pitted, a good naturalistic representation of the shell: but occasionally it is decorated. Here one would guess that the simple version was the original creation, and the fancy pieces variants. Four of the decorated almonds are covered with scales, and two of these go together and belong to our group:—

1. Athens 13641, from Chalcis. *Anz.* 1928, 331 fig. 51. Already in Bulas' list, *BCH* 1932, 393.
2. Würzburg 651. Langlotz pl. 205. Langlotz calls this Boeotian, and is followed by Mercklin (*Anz.* 1935, 143), but it is Attic.

In both vases the dots on the scales are laid directly on the clay, as in the scale-amphoriskos Bonn 798 (p. 13). The drawing of the scales connects these almonds not with that vase but with two squat lekythoi, to be mentioned presently (p. 17), in Cambridge and Bonn.

There is less reason for associating the scale-almond in Hamburg (1899. 189: *Anz.* 1928, 331 fig. 50) with our group. Here the filling of the scales is black instead of white, and the black of mouth, neck, and handles is obtained by dipping, as in the plain standard almonds. I have no note of the fourth scale-almond, Leipsic T3360, mentioned by Mercklin in *Anz.* 1928, 332 and said to resemble the Hamburg.[3]

[1] On B, a naked youth seated to r.

[2] On almond vases see Pottier and Reinach *Myrina* 229, Mercklin in *Anz.* 1928, 330–2, Robinson and Harcum *Gk. Vases at Toronto* 263, Robinson *C.V. Robinson* i, 56 on pl. 47, 1, Mercklin in *Anz.* 1935, 143–4. Add to the plain standard almonds: Oxford 1938. 314, from Al Mina (one side is covered with impressed palmettes, the other is pitted as usual); Copenhagen inv. 1225 (*CV* pl. 175, 3); Cambridge 35. 9; Koenigsberg 96; Amsterdam, Six, 21; London market (Ready; mentioned in *Vente Ready* 49 no. 325). I have not seen Berlin 4138. The New York almond is figured in *Cesnola Coll.* ii pl. 149, 1101. Yale 173 (Baur 114) has a squat-lekythos mouth of cavetto type instead of the normal amphoriskos-mouth; so has the one-handled almond Oxford 340 (*CV* pl. 40, 16). In the only other one-handled almond known to me, Bowdoin 23. 21, the mouth is of the same amphoriskos type as in the plain standard almonds, but of different make; the body, which is reserved (or white?), has vertical striations in the middle, with impressed patterns above and below. The almond Louvre *MNC* 638 (A, Courby *Vases grecs à reliefs* 487 fig. 103) is attributed by Courby to 'an Asiatic workshop influenced by those of Pergamon': it is fourth-century and doubtless Attic.

[3] Scales form part of the decoration in an almond which is not connected with our group, Athens 2323 (N. 1261: *Anz.* 1928, 331, fig. 52). This would seem to be by a painter of askoi, cf. for example Cambridge 4. 1890 (*CV* pl. 39, 2). According to Mercklin, the almond Munich inv. 2256 goes with Athens 2323.

It is worth enquiring whether some of the small perfume-vases with the body in the shape of a cockle-shell may not have come from our fabric. In one of them, Hamburg 1900. 506 (*Anz.* 1928, 334 fig. 55), the mouth, by its shape, and because the lower half of it is reserved, recalls the miniature Panathenaics: but there is nothing else to go on, and it would be unwise to press the claim. In other cockle-shells the mouth is of regular pointed-amphoriskos type and there is nothing to connect the vases with our group: so in Würzburg 652 (Langlotz pl. 205), in its fellows from the Paris market (Geladakis: *Coll. E.G.* pl. 6, 149) and in the Petit Palais (*CV* pl. 47, 409), and in Louvre inv. Myr. 596 (Pottier and Reinach 229 fig. 33), presumably also, from Mercklin's description (*Anz.* 1928, 337) in Mayence O. 12383. Toronto 608 (Robinson and Harcum pl. 95) is decorated with scales, but the scales are not of the same kind as in our scale-vases.

D. *Round aryballoi*

1. Oxford 1925. 605. *CV* pl. 47, 9; Pl. 4, 11.
2. Athens, Vlasto, from Larissa in Thessaly. Pl. 4, 12.

I figured the Oxford aryballos among the Attic vases in the *Corpus*, but a doubt arose before I had finished writing the text: I knew nothing similar, and the nearest approach seemed to be Italiote, the aryballos, from Taranto, in Würzburg (*Mü. Jb.* 1913, Wolters *Salbgefäss aus Tarent*, pl. at p. 83; Langlotz pll. 238–9, 822): so I wrote 'probably Italiote', and repeated this in my study of aryballoi in *BSA* 29, 210. Later I saw my mistake (*JHS* 54, 92): the vase is certainly Attic, and belongs to our group. The tongues on the body, and the filling of the egg-pattern on the shoulder, are alternately black and white: the white being laid directly on the clay. The drawing of the egg-pattern is the same as in the Copenhagen amphoriskos (p. 12, no. 2: *CV* pl. 183, 4). The fabric is very light and fine, and the pleasant yellow colour of the surface recurs, if I remember, in the miniature panathenaics and in several other vases of the group.

The Vlasto vase has the same shape and make as the Oxford, but is tiny (25 millimetres against 59), and less delicate. It was found in the grave of a child at Larissa in Thessaly, and with it a squat lekythos decorated with network and belonging to our group (p. 18). The spots of the scales are laid directly on the clay. A white line runs round above the uppermost row of scales. The neck, as in the Oxford vase, is reserved.

E. *Bottle (vinaigrette)*

A pretty little vase of unique shape, in the collection of Mr. George Empedokles at Athens, perhaps belongs to our group, but I should like to see it again. It is a kind of bottle or handleless amphoriskos with echinus mouth, say rather an aryballos slimmed from globular to slender ovoid. The body is covered with neat scales, the white dots of which are laid on the clay.

F. *Alabastra*

Bulas' lists include five net and four scale alabastra; Miss Haspels added one with scales.

a. (with network).

Nos. 1, 3, 4, 5 were put together by Bulas.

1. Louvre M 157, from Kerch. *BCH* 1932 pl. 21, 9.
2. Leningrad, from Kerch. *Otchët* 1902, 55 fig. 98, whence Pl. 4, 13.
3. Louvre inv. Myr. 576, from Myrina. *BCH* 1885, 191 = Pottier and Reinach *Myrina* 231; *BCH* 1932 pl. 21, 7.
4. Louvre inv. Myr. 576 (1), from Myrina. *BCH* 1932 pl. 21, 5.

The form of these vases and others of various designs and periods (Mercklin in *Anz.* 1928, 334–7; Robinson and Harcum *Gk. Vases at Toronto* 263; Mercklin in *Anz.* 1935, 144) may have been suggested to the potter by the use of real shells, especially cockle-shells, to hold pomades: at Carthage Father Delattre found a real pecten shell fitted with a bronze ring and hinge to form a box (*Carthage. Nécr. Punique de la Colline de Saint-Louis* 32, 6); at Taranto, Drago found another fitted with three rings for the same purpose (*NSc.* 1936, 186–7); see also Pottier and Reinach *Fouilles de Myrina* 245–6, and Jacobsthal *Mel. Reliefs* 116: I do not know whether traces of the contents have ever been noted, and pomade is only one possibility—dry cosmetics and tiny trinkets are others. A fourth-century shell-vase of silver, provided with a hinge and a handle, from Himera or Catana, is in Berlin (inv. 30038: *Stephanos Wiegand* 14).

A special group of Attic shells is formed by (1) Oxford 338, (2) Leningrad, from Kerch (*Otchët* 1902, 56 fig. 102, whence Pl. 5, 19 a–b), (3) Salonica inv. 376 (R. 392) from Olynthos (Robinson *Olynthus* 7 pl. 52), (4) Amsterdam inv. 1883, from Egypt (*CV* III N and K pl. 2, Pays-Bas 40, 7, (5) Paris market (Geladakis), from Greece (*Coll. E.G.* pl. 6, 161): the front is not shell-shaped, but bears a bearded head in low relief—in nos. 1 and 2 of Boreas; in the rest, of Dionysos. Two handles. Nos. 2 and 3 have a squat-lekythos mouth, no. 5 an amphoriskos-mouth, if it belongs. Nos. 3 and 4 were put together by Robinson (*Olynthus* 7, 100–1); no. 1 also, for when he writes 'Oxford *CV* pl. 47, 15' he means Oxford 338 which is unpublished.

5. Delphi 376, from Karoutes near Delphi. *FD* 5, 168 fig. 709.
6. Once Carlsruhe, Vogell, 168. *Sg. Vogell* 20.
7. Leningrad, from Kerch. *Otchët* 1908, 114 fig. 155, whence Pl. 4, 14.
8. Louvre M 156, from Kerch. *BCH* 1932 pl. 21, 8.
9. Ferrara, T. 262, from Spina.

I noted eight other net-alabastra in Ferrara, from Spina, as belonging to the group—T. 262 (a second one), T. 629 (two), T. 820, and four unnumbered—but have no particulars to check them by, and therefore do not put them in the list. I have no note of London 77. 9–30. 27, from the Troad, mentioned by Bulas, or of the Leyden vase added by Miss Haspels.[1]

The nine alabastra are decorated on the same principle as the pointed amphoriskoi. Round the middle, a broad band of network; above that, a black band with white patterns on it—palmettes and flowers (nos. 1, 2, 4, 5), tendrils (nos. 7, 8, 9), vine (no. 6), tongues (no. 3); below the network, a narrower thick band with white patterns—palmettes and flowers (no. 3), flowers alternating with crosses which have dots between the arms (nos. 2, 4, 7, 8), such crosses alone (nos. 1 and 6); below that, a reserved band, then black. Thin white lines are used freely. The flowers are of the same type as in the miniature Panathenaics.

In no. 8 the net is done in white lines instead of black, and for this reason Bulas does not include it in his list although he mentions it in his text (*BCH* 1932, 396); but it certainly belongs to our group.

β. (with scales).

Nos. 2–5 were put together by Bulas, no. 1 added by Miss Haspels.

1. New York 06. 1021. 89. Richter and Milne fig. 111.
2. Warsaw, Arch. Mus., fr., from Kerch. *CV* pl. 1 (Pol. 111), 10.
3. Boston F. 301. Fairbanks pl. 30.
4. Yale 176. Baur 115, 3.
5. Louvre MN795. *BCH* 1932 pl. 21, 6.

I have forgotten the alabastron in London, 56. 10–1. 2, to which it seems I drew Miss Haspels' attention (*ABL* 168); and can find no note of it now.

The Louvre vase, no. 5, links the scale-alabastra with the net-alabastra, for there are black bands, with floral decoration on them in white, above and below the scales. Nos. 1–4 go together: the drawing of the scales is the same in all four, and the same as in the amphoriskos Bonn 798 (see p. 13).[2]

[1] Cairo 26207 (Edgar pl. 12) which she also adds, does not seem to belong to our group: an alabastron in Taranto, from Ceglie del Campo, might be connected with the Cairo: it has a wide-meshed net, with a long white drop in the middle of each diamond; above, an ordinary egg-and-dot.

All these net alabastra are to be kept apart from the fifth-century alabastra, also decorated with net-work, which have been put together by Miss Haspels and assigned to the Emporion painter (*ABL* 167–8 and 263–4). Add to her list vases in Bari, Ferrara (T. 65), and Leningrad (*Otchët* 1905, 65 fig. 85). See also p. 18, note 1.

[2] There are not very many Attic alabastra of clay in the second half of the fifth century or the fourth: the need was supplied by alabastra of alabaster and glass. It occurs to me that a class of small alabastra the decoration of which is a black wreath with white berries might possibly be connected with our group. The white is set directly on the clay, and three of the vases (nos. 3–5) have white dividing lines.

1. Cambridge 182, from Athens. *CV* pl. 29, 12.
2. Berne 2441.
3. Once Carlsruhe, Vogell, 169. *Sg. Vogell* pl. 3, 25.
4. Ferrara, T. 1047, from Spina.
5. Ferrara, T. 1047, from Spina.

Boehlau compared the Vogell vase with a small squat lekythos in the Vogell collection, 155. The decoration consists of ' a big laurel-wreath with white berries '.

I have not seen this, and it is not reproduced, but there is another squat lekythos that goes with the alabastra: it bears a black wreath, without berries; the black of neck and handle was obtained by dipping; the mouth, which would have helped to date it, is missing:—

London 1914. 7–9. 2.

G. *Oinochoe* (*shape III : chous*)

Oxford 1930. 256. *Cat. Sotheby June* 18 1930 pl. 11, 158, whence *BCH* 1932 pl. 21, 11; Pl. 4, 15. Height ·056.

This little vase is reproduced by Bulas and cited as an example of scale decoration (*BCH* 1932, 398), but does not figure in his list: yet it certainly belongs to our group. The filling of the scales is black and white in alternate rows, and the white is laid directly on the clay. Two white lines, with a black between, run round above the scales. The upper part of the vase is black (obtained by dipping), with a white wreath.

We have left the most numerous section of our group to the last, although by rights it should have come after the almonds:—

H. *Squat lekythoi*

α. (*with scales*).

Nos. 1 and 3 are in Bulas' list (*BCH* 1932, 392).

1. Cambridge 158, from Megara. *CV* pl. 28, 2.
2. Corinth, from Corinth. *AJA* 1937, 548 fig. 11, 5.
3. Bonn inv. 1612, from Odessa. *BCH* 1932 pl. 21, 3; *CV* pl. 40, 7.
4. Brussels; number unknown.

Nos. 1–3 go together: the Cambridge vase is good, and those in Corinth and Bonn seem nearly equal to it. The drawing of the scales is the same as in the two almonds (p. 14). The Brussels vase, no. 4, is mentioned by Bulas (*BCH* 1932, 397 note 8) as a Boeotian imitation, but it seemed to me Attic of our group. The tongues are white, with the white laid direct on the clay; below them a white line, above them two white lines. According to Bulas the outline of the scales is white, the filling black with a white dot, the same technique, then, as in the Brindisi amphoriskos (p. 13): on this point my own note is not plain.

I think a fifth vase, of which I have no note, should be put with these:—

Compiègne. *CV* pl. 30, 12.

The technique of the scales is not clear from the minute reproduction and curt description in the *Corpus*: 'dots in lustrous black and white retouches forming imbrications': is it the same as in the Brussels vase?

The Corinth vase was found in a 'late fifth-century well' (*AJA* 1937, 548 fig. 11) which contained among other Attic red-figure vases a bell-krater of about 425 B.C. and a small squat lekythos of the late fifth century or the beginning of the fourth, also a squat lekythos of a class ('Galaxidi class') which is not earlier, I believe, than the fourth century.

β. (*with network*).

The net-vases (figs. 15–16) vary from fair to poor, as may be seen from the thirty-two found at Olynthos (Robinson *Olynthus* V pll. 146–7); the vase in Naples, from Cumae (*ML* 22 pl. 109, 4), is one of the best. The mouth sometimes has a double curve, but more often it is of cavetto shape: both mouths occur at Olynthos. The network covers the whole body of the vase. In rough pieces the white dots at the intersections may be omitted. The black of mouths and handles is obtained by dipping, except in the careful Naples vase. The foot is reserved, but usually has a row of smudges on it, where the black lines of the body have overrun. Typical, the white tongues on the neck, laid direct on the clay without underpaint. Lists have been given by Bulas (*BCH* 1932, 389–91) and Miss Haspels (*ABL* 168), which I do not repeat, but I make a few additions, some of which illustrate the wide distribution of net squat-lekythoi:—

London market (Sotheby).
Oxford 1872. 1077, from Alexandria.
Cambridge, Museum of Classical Archaeology, two fragments of two vases.
Marseilles, from Marseilles (Saint-Mauront). *R.E.A.* 1940 pl. 1, a.
Ferrara, T671, from Spina. Aurigemma [2] 105. Fifteen pieces.
Ancona, from Filottrano. *JRAI* 67, pl. 29 fig. 5, 1.
Athens, Vlasto, from Larissa in Thessaly.
Leningrad, from Kerch. Rostovtzeff *Antichnaya Dekorativnaya Zhivopis na Yugye Rossii* pl. 28, 4, above.
Leningrad, from Kerch. *Ibid.*, below.
Leningrad, from Kerch. *Otchet* 1908, 113 fig. 152.
Leningrad (ex Novikov), from Kerch or near (see p. 10).
Cairo 26206, from Naucratis.
Cairo 26205.
Sofia, from Vărbitza (district of Preslav). Filow *Duvanlij* 179, 1.
Ibiza, from Ibiza. Román *Excavaciones en Cala d'Hort* (in *Junta Superior de Excavaciones y Antigüedades, Memorias*, 1917 no. 6) pl. 6, 2.
Carthage, from Carthage. Delattre *Carthage : Nécropole Punique de la Colline de Saint-Louis* 25, 4.
London, Department of British and Mediaeval Antiquities, 1932. 3–8. 2. Heron-Allen *Selsey Bill* pl. 18. Doubtless brought to Selsey Bill in modern times.
London? Formerly in the Burgon collection, 170, from Athens. Pl. 4, 16, after a drawing in Burgon's papers in the Ashmolean Museum. This and the next may be the London vases 2958B and 2959 mentioned by Bulas (*BCH* 1932, 389 nos. 5 and 12).
London? Formerly in the Burgon collection, 171, from Athens. Pl. 4, 17, after a drawing in Burgon's papers.
Candia? From Amnisós in Crete. *Prakt.* 1935, 200, 5.
Smyrna. Of the same debased shape as the tiny net-lekythos Oxford 1934. 290 (mentioned by Miss Haspels *ABL* 168): cf. also the small black squat lekythoi Cracow, Univ., inv. 689 (*CV* pl. 11, 15) and Leyden 32 (Holwerda *Gebruiksaardewerk* 20, 32).
Nicosia 1685, from Curium (= Murray *Exc. Cypr.* 77 from Tomb 71?), and Nicosia 1684 read as if they belonged to our group. The net squat-lekythoi in Polish collections have now been published in the *Corpus Vasorum*.

Bulas speaks (*BCH* 1932, 393) as if two vases in Lecce differed from the rest in technique, but this is perhaps an inference from Romanelli's description, where 'decoration in black and red' may mean no more than that the net-lines are as usual in black on a reserved ground.

The Dresden vase (*Exp. Sieglin* ii, 3 pl. 11, 3) appears to differ from the rest in the shape of the mouth and in the black edge of the foot.

Bulas takes the vase from Abusir (Watzinger *Gr. Holzsarkophage* 9 fig. 19) to be Italiote, and here he is right as against Watzinger and Miss Haspels (*ABL* 167), who call it Attic. With it goes the other tall squat lekythos quoted by Miss Haspels, Sèvres 152 (*CV* pl. 48, 31); and Copenhagen 342 (*CV* pl. 232, 8), Harvard 272 (*CV* pl. 35, 2), Pittsburgh (Scribner *Cat. of the Spang Collection* in *Memoirs of the Carnegie Museum* 11, pl. 39, 4). One of the differences from our net-lekythoi is that the network does not cover the whole body, but gives place to a black band at the base.[1]

There is information about the circumstances in which some of these vases were discovered, and I give what I have been able to ascertain. 'N' will be short for 'net squat-lekythos of our group'.

The Vlasto N was found in the same grave at Thessalian Larissa as the scale aryballos belonging to our group (p. 15). This is an indication, though no proof, that cavetto-mouthed N's need not all be late, for the aryballos seems to show the style at its prime.

An N was found with a palmette squat-lekythos in the grave of a child at Shapla-dere (Mesambria?) (*Anz.* 1918, 6 fig. 4, 2).

The N Rhodes 10475 (double-curve mouth) was found in Tomb 192 (clxiii) at Ialysos (*Cl. Rh.* 3, 162), together with a palmette squat-lekythos, a black cup-skyphos of a type current in the late fifth century and the first half of the fourth,[2] and a small rf. hydria of not very early fourth-century style.

[1] A squat lekythos in Corinth is decorated with network, but does not belong to our group. It has the pronounced shoulder not uncommon in squat lekythoi of the second and third quarters of the fifth century, and the style of the net reminds one of the Emporion painter and his net alabastra (see p. 16, note 1).

[2] On this type of cup-skyphos see *CV* Oxford pp. 30, 42, and 119 on pl. 48, 3, 6, and 44 and pl. 65, 21; *Hesp.* 4

An N in Thebes (double-curve mouth) was found in Tomb 27 at Halai, together with a rf. hydria and two black vases (*Hesp.* 11 pl. 5). The hydria was well compared by Miss Goldman with the hydria in Rhodes just mentioned as having been found with an N.

Another N in Thebes was found in Tomb 87 at Halai, the contents of which are unpublished but are reported by Miss Goldman to have included ' rf. squat lekythoi and late vase-types which may be dated about 400 B.C.' (*Hesp.* 11, 391). The squat lekythoi are said to be similar to those in Tomb 79 (*AJA* 1915, 428 = *Hesp.* 11 pl. 5, below), which are probably a little later than 400.

The fifteen N's in Ferrara (all cavetto-mouthed) were found in Tomb 67 at Spina, together with twenty-nine palmette squat-lekythoi and some black vases (Aurigemma [2] 105), among them two skyphoi with exaggerated profile which are no longer early fourth-century.[1]

Two cavetto-mouthed N's were found at Kerch with five palmette squat-lekythoi, two rf. pelikai of full Kerch style, and a black kantharoid cup with impressed decoration inside (Rostovtzeff *Ant. Dek.* pl 28). A good many cups of this type were found at Olynthos (Robinson *Olynthus* V pll. 148–9), which shows that they were current before 348. The upper limit is harder to determine, but they are not early fourth century. The pelikai are at the same stage of development as the latest rf. vases found at Olynthos, so doubtless belong to the fifties.

An N (cavetto-mouth) was found in the Gaulish cemetery at Filottrano in the territory of the Senones (*JRAI* 67 pl. 29 fig. 5, 1), together with a palmette squat-lekythos (*ibid.* fig. 5, 2).[2]

The N from Cumae (double-curved mouth; *ML* 22 pl. 109, 4) was found, according to Gabrici (*ibid.* 666), with a black ' olletta ', unpublished, doubtless of local fabric, and a silver ring set with a globolo scarab (*ibid.* pl. 116, 12). Full fourth century, one would think.

The thirty-two N's published in the fifth volume of Robinson's *Excavations at Olynthus* (pll. 146–7) are earlier than 348 B.C., when the city was destroyed. *Necrolynthia*, the eleventh

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p. 502, 12, and 14, and p. 504 fig. 22 (Talcott). There are a few rf. examples: Bologna PU. 349 (Heydemann *Mittheilungen aus den Antikensammlungen in Ober- u. Mittelitalien* pl. 1, 1) is late fifth-century; Salonica inv. 319 (R. 273: Robinson *Olynthus* 5 pl. 123) is fourth-century, probably the second quarter; the rest are decorated glaux-wise with owl and olive-branches. The type needs a name, and might be called Bolsal after Bologna and Salonica.

[1] On skyphoi of this exaggerated shape see Homer Thompson in *Hesp.* 3, 319, A 26. One in Delphi (*FD* 5, 164 fig. 687) comes from a tomb which Perdrizet seems to date in the fifth century (*ibid.* p. 12) or the beginning of the fourth (*ibid.* 167) but which is evidently well on in the fourth.

[2] Four other rf. vases were found in the cemetery, all fourth century, and none of them early fourth century (Jacobsthal in *JRS* 29, 100–1). Jacobsthal dated the Theseus krater (A, *JRAI* pl. 67, 4) about 320–310, which seems to me too late. I cannot separate it, either in shape or in style of drawing, from the symposium krater found in the same tomb (*ibid.* pl. 67, 1–2). The reverse of the Theseus krater is not reproduced: but the reverse of the replica in the Louvre (*CV* e pl. 6, 8–9) is very like that of the Filottrano symposion krater.

The Filottrano Group, as it may be called, consists of the following bell-kraters, which may all be by one hand:—

1. Ancona, from Filottrano. A, Dall'Osso 249, 1; A, *JRAI* 67 pl. 17, 4. A, Theseus and the Bull. B, youths.
2. Salonica, fr., from Mekyberna. *AJA* 1935, 231. A, Theseus and the Bull.
3. Louvre G 526, from Campania? Millin 1 pl. 43; *CV* e pl. 6, 8–9. A, Theseus and the Bull. B, youths. Much restored.
4. Baltimore, Prof. D. M. Robinson. *CV* iii pl. 17, 2. A, symposion. B, youths.
5. Ancona, from Filottrano. A, Dall'Osso 250; *JRAI* 67 pl. 17, 1–2. A, symposion. B, youths.
6. Würzburg 635. A, *Sg. Vogell* pl. 3, 20; Langlotz pl. 213. A, Grypomachy. B, youths.

Robinson rightly compared no. 4 with the somewhat earlier bell-krater Louvre G 523 (*CV* e pl. 5, 9–10): this is no. 10 in my list of vases by the Black-Thyrsus painter (*ARV* 879). He also compared the bell-krater Salonica R 137 (Robinson *Olynthus* 5 pl. 82), which which we may place the fragment of a replica, Salonica R 134 (*ibid.* pl. 81): these are among the latest vases found at Olynthos. The vases of the Filottrano Group cannot be much later than they, which would point to a date between 350 and 340 for the two kraters from Filottrano. Jacobsthal tells me that he does not hold to his late-fourth century date.

Other rf. vases found at Filottrano are the Campanian bell-krater *JRAI* 67 pl. 17, 3, and the oinochoe, of some Italian fabric, *ibid.* pl. 30, 1: neither can be earlier than the two Attic kraters. Jacobsthal adds two unpublished Attic vases, a lekanis and a pelike, both fourth century (*JRS* 29, 101).

volume of Robinson's work, gives finding-facts about some of them. Nos. 494 and 498 were found together in grave 591 (*Necr.* p. 111), and with them the rf. squat lekythos 251 (pl. 116) and three black vases, the skyphos 958 (pl. 184), the one-handler 907 (pl. 179), the lekanis 1009 (pl. 187). No. 496 was found in grave 568 (*Necr.* p. 111), with the rf. skyphos 154 (pl. 99), the black skyphos 953 (pl. 183), and the squat lekythos 745 (pl. 168). The rough specimen 474 was found in grave 170 (*Necr.* p. 36), with the black mug (' oinochoe type 8 ') 537 (pl. 151). 477 and 478, small and rough, were found with the black kothon 1065 (pl. 191) in the grave of a child, 266 (*Necr.* p. 56). None of these Olynthian co-finds are very helpful in the present state of our knowledge: it would be more natural to date the black vases by means of the N's than the N's by means of them; of the two rf. vases, one, the squat lekythos decorated with a female head (pl. 116, 251), is early fourth century, while all that can be said of the other, the debased skyphos 154 (pl. 99), is that it belongs to the first half of the century.

Finally, N's have been discovered at Alexandria, founded in 332–1 B.C. One in Dresden (*Exp. Sieglin* ii, 3 pl. 11, 3: see p. 18) is said to have been found there, and three in Alexandria were certainly so.[1] They came from the cemetery of Chatby (Breccia *Necr. di Sciatbi* pl. 46). One of them has a double-curved mouth, the others a cavetto. The only rf. vases from the cemetery, apart from palmette squat-lekythoi, are three pelikai of full Kerch style: two of them are published by Breccia (*Sciatbi* pl. 47 and p. 49; *ibid.* pl. 48), the third, much damaged, mentioned only (*ibid.* p. 50). Miss Talcott has suggested (*Hesp.* 3, 427) that the pelikai, which do not look much later than the latest pelikai found at Olynthos, were brought to Alexandria from Cumae by the first colonists: that is quite possible, and the squat lekythoi may have come with them, but I do not insist on this.

It will be seen that none of the objects known to have been found with N's are certainly from the fifth century, or even (with the doubtful exception of the unpublished vases from Tomb 87 at Halai) from the earliest years of the fourth. On the other hand, it should be remembered that in the great majority of cases the circumstances of discovery are unrecorded.

Bulas argued (*BCH* 1932, 393–3), from the shape of the mouth, that the N's could not be earlier than the fourth century. The double-curve begins to appear, in Meidian squat lekythoi close to the painter himself,[2] well before the end of the fifth, but the stage of curvature shown by the N's was probably not reached in red-figure before the end of the century. The cavetto mouth does not come in till somewhat later.[3] The flaring lip seen in rf. squat lekythoi of full Kerch style does not occur in the N's; and the bodies of the N's are still broad, not slimmed as in the full Kerch style.

The earliest squat lekythoi with scale or net decoration were probably not made appreciably later than the earliest of the miniature panathenaics or of the other classes that make up our group: but the net squat-lekythos found special favour; sinking to a degenerate mass-product without charm, it long outlasted most of the other shapes, and may have been produced in more than one workshop.

It would be easy to suppose that the N's with cavetto mouth were later than those in which the mouth has a double curve: but it is not at all certain that all the cavettos are later than all the double-curves. Both mouths occur at Olynthos (Robinson *Olynthus* 5 pll. 146–7). The smaller specimens usually have the cavetto mouth.

[1] Breccia (*Sciatbi* 48) speaks of Cairo 26204 (Edgar pl. 12) as coming from Alexandria, but all Edgar says is that it was bought there.

[2] For example in the Oedipus vase London E 696 (*ARV* 838 no. 48).

[3] In Bonn 345 and 1705 (*CV* pl. 26, 1 and pl. 26, 2) the mouth is very nearly a simple cavetto: Greifenhagen's date, *c.* 400, seems too early.

It is natural to ask whether some of the small squat lekythoi decorated with a single red-figure palmette which are often found in conjunction with N's may not have been made in the same workshop or workshops as they: but to answer this question would require a closer comparison of the originals than I ever made while I still had the opportunity.

(γ). *with network and red-figure.*

Bulas' list of squat lekythoi includes two peculiar vases in which the back has the usual net pattern but the front is decorated in 'red-figure', as it must still be called, with much white. I add a third.

1. Cab. Méd. 1051. *BCH* 1932 pl. 21, 2. Head of Athena.
2. Paris market (Geladakis). *Coll. E.G.* pl. 2, 69, whence Pl. 4, 18. Female head.
3. Athens 2278, from Crete. *BCH* 1932 pl. 21, 12. Sphinx.

There are two details in the Cabinet des Médailles vase that bring us round again to our starting-point, for they recall the miniature Panathenaics with which we began. One is the rendering of the eye (p. 11); the other the decoration of the aegis—brown crosses with dots between the arms: such crosses, only in white, were the favourite shield-device in the Panathenaics, as well as one of the commonest patterns in the amphoriskoi and alabastra. The female head on the Geladakis vase may be by the same hand as the Athena. The sphinx on the Athens vase offers little to compare. In all three vases the tongues on the neck are white; in nos. 1 and 3 the colour is laid direct on the clay; in no. 2 this detail is not clear in the reproduction. In the Athens vase the picture is bordered at the sides by the same white uprights as in many of the miniature Panathenaics (p. 12). In nos. 1 and 3 the foot of the vase is thicker than in the N's and has grooves on it; the foot of no. 2 seems to be thick, but whether grooved one cannot tell. The style of the drawing points to the early part of the fourth century, but not the beginning.[1]

I think it will be agreed that the miniature panathenaics, the net and scale vases put together by Bulas, and those here added, form a single group; and that an appropriate name for it, if I may be permitted to make the proposal, would be 'the Bulas group'.

My thanks are due to Miss G. M. A. Richter and Dr. L. D. Caskey for permission to publish vases in New York and Boston and for sending me photographs; to Mr. E. T. Leeds for permission to publish two drawings from Burgon's papers in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; to Dr. Caskey and Miss G. W. Nelson for information about the Boston vases.

J. D. Beazley.

[1] There are three other squat lekythoi in which the network is confined to the back: the front is painted white and decorated with a frontal head, apparently female, in low relief; in no. 2 pink and green details are added. The neck of the vase is white. The rosettes and palmettes that set off from body and neck are common in plastic vases of the fourth century.

1. Würzburg 650, from Eretria. Langlotz pl. 205.
2. Louvre MNB 1331.
3. Leningrad, from the government of Kiev. *Otchët* 1904, 105, fig. 195, whence Pl. 5, 20.

The three are replicas. Langlotz thought the Würzburg vase might be Boeotian: the Louvre replica seemed Attic to me, and it must take the Würzburg with it. The provenience of the third vase speaks for Athens against Boeotia.

There is no special reason for assigning these vases to our group.

SOME PROVINCIAL BLACK-FIGURE WORKSHOPS

(WITH PLATES 6, 7, 8, 9, 10)

In the small collection of Greek vases in Reading University there is a pyxis, complete with lid, and also an odd lid from a similar pyxis (Pl. 6, 1 and 3), with floral decoration of the kind that prevailed in Boeotia in the latter part of the fifth century. The painting is done with care, and both vase and lid have an elegance that contrasts with the rusticity of most vases with this sort of decoration.

In shape and size the Reading vase corresponds with the well-known pyxis formerly in the Branteghem collection (Froehner *Coll. Van Branteghem* no. 211 Pl. 46). The height of the Reading pyxis is 0·205 m., of the Branteghem pyxis 0·21 m. Its lid is flat, with an upward curve at the rim, the knob pagoda-like with six tiers, the foot in three sections, unpainted and ribbed horizontally. For decoration the Branteghem pyxis has on the body a picture-zone with two Nikes, an Eros and a child in a goat-cart; on the lid two lions and a griffin. Apart from a myrtle wreath that borders the top of the picture-zone there is no floral ornament. The Reading pyxis is decorated entirely with palmettes and lotuses. I hope to show nevertheless that both belong to a single group of vases which must all have issued from the same workshop. This group is made up of the following:—

(1) Pyxis,[1] Froehner, *Coll. Van Branteghem* no. 211, Pl. 46; Pfuhl *MuZ* Abb. 617. On body, two Nikes, Eros, and child in goat-cart; above, myrtle wreath. On lid, two lions and griffin.
(2) Pyxis, Reading 26.iv.1. Pl. 6, 1. On body, lotus-palmette band. On lid, lotus-palmette band.
(3) Pyxis, Nauplia 97.[2] Pl. 6, 2. On body, lotus-palmette band; above, myrtle wreath. On lid, lotus-palmette band.
(4) Pyxis, Munich, Glyptothek. On body, lotus-palmette band; above, myrtle wreath. On lid, procession of birds, laurel border.
(5) Lid, Reading 25.viii.5. Pl. 6, 3. Lotus-palmette band.
(6) B.F. lid of R.F. kalyx krater, Athens CC1345; *AM* 65, 1940, Taf. 8 (with lid), 10, 1; *JHS* 1899 p. 270 fig. 3, Pl. 10 (without lid). On body, *A*. Selene driving over the sea conducted by Hermes. *B*. Athena in quadriga. On lid, B.F. lotus-palmette band, laurel border.
(7) Stamnos-pyxis,[3] Brussels A78. Pl. 7, 4. On body, main zone, lotus-palmette band; above, bar-and-dot border; below, wave-meander. On lid, lotus-palmette band as on body; round rim, myrtle wreath.
(8) Lid, Berlin University D680. Lion and griffin, twice.
(9) Askos, Berlin Staatliche Mus. 4518. On side, in front, birds drinking from a fountain basin; at back, laurel sprays united under the handle. On top, hare and hound separated by palmettes and a bush.
(10) Askos, Athens, Nicole 959. On side, animals, including lion, deer, hound. On top, deer and hound.[4]
(11) Oenochoe fragment, Athens, from the Kabeirion. Birds at a flower.
(12) Lebes, Heidelberg VI 37. *AJA* 1909 p. 394 fig. 4c. On body, between bands of bar-pattern zone of birds and flowers alternately. On lid, pair of birds at a flower, twice.

To these may perhaps be added, with a query:—

(13) Lebes, Athens Nicole 955. On body, bands of bar-pattern, panther and griffin, twice. Lid missing.

The palmette-lotus bands on the body and lid of the Reading pyxis and on the body of the Nauplia pyxis are of the same type, as is plainly seen in Pl. 6, 1 and 2, the only differ-

[1] I have no information as to the present whereabouts of this pyxis.

[2] My warmest thanks are due to Professor Oikonomos, to Professor Rhomaios, and to Mr. and Mrs. Karousos for permission, given at various times, to take photographs and to publish vases in Athens, Nauplia, and Thebes. To Professor Eichler and Professor Mayence I am also much indebted for permission to use photographs of vases in Vienna and Brussels.

[3] This shape is Beazley's ' nuptial lebes type 2 ', *ARV* p. viii. In Attica the connection of this shape with marriages is proved by vase-paintings. In Boeotia, however, there is nothing in the decoration of the vases themselves (generally floral or linear patterns) nor elsewhere, as far as I know, to suggest such a connection, and the shape is so common that the vases must have been intended for daily use. The *lebes gamikos* of the Boeotians seems to be represented by the handle-less lebes or dinos, such as the inscribed vase Würzburg 658, Langlotz Taf. 220. The correct description of our no. 7 would probably be ' pyxis in the shape of an Attic *lebes gamikos* type 2 ', but for convenience and brevity I keep to the old though incorrect name of stamnos-pyxis for this shape in Boeotian fabrics (cp. P. N. Ure *Classification of Boeotian Pottery* p. 18).

[4] Nicole, *Catalogue* p. 191, gives only lions and lionesses on the body and two dogs on the top. I have no photograph of the vase, and have seen only one side of it. It is possible that my description is not correct.

ence being that the centre-leaf of the palmette is rounded on the Reading vase, lanceolate in Nauplia. The lid of the Nauplia pyxis is in quite a different style, and will be discussed a little later. The body of the Munich pyxis resembles that of the Nauplia pyxis in every respect except that the myrtle wreath along the top points to the left, while the Nauplia myrtle, like that of the Branteghem vase, points to the right, and the broad black band below the lotus-palmette zone seen in Pl. 6, 2 is replaced by four black lines. The Munich lid has a pagoda-knob like that of the Reading pyxis (Pl. 6, 1), with the trifling difference that all six tiers are painted black except the second from the bottom, which is red, while in Reading the sections are alternately black and red. In the decoration of the Munich lid, however, with its procession of birds and laurel wreath, we have something new. The odd lid in Reading (no. 5, Pl. 6, 3) also has a pagoda-knob, but with only three tiers. The palmette type with lanceolate centre-leaf repeats that of the Nauplia body, but the lotus has a lanceolate centre-petal in contrast to the rightward sickle-shaped curve of those on the Reading and Nauplia pyxides. The same palmettes and lotuses as those of the Reading lid reappear on the lid of the R.F. krater with Selene (no. 6) and, more delicately drawn, on both lid and body of the stamnos-pyxis in Brussels (no. 7 Pl. 7, 4). The birds that we see contemplating flowers on the Heidelberg lebes (no. 12) repeat those of the Munich lid and occur again on the fragment from the Kabeirion (no. 11), while the same birds troop to the fountain to drink on the Berlin askos (no. 9).

It will be seen from the foregoing that the twelve vases form a single group, being connected one with another by palmette shapes, or animal types, or some detail of decoration. One item only finds no counterpart elsewhere, and that is the lid of the Nauplia pyxis (Pl. 6, 2). The shape is different from that associated with this type of body in nos. 1, 2, and 4, though the flat-topped knob is not entirely alien to the group, but is seen on the Berlin lid (no. 8), which has a lion and a griffin that are the work of the same hand as the Branteghem vase. Also the palmettes are rounder and the lotuses fleshier than those seen elsewhere in the group. The Nauplia lid may therefore not belong to the pyxis, or it may belong and yet be painted by a different hand, trained in a different tradition. The palmettes of the Branteghem group (excepting the lid of the Nauplia pyxis) are invariably represented as having no core or heart. The leaves come straight down onto the tendrils without any attempt at suggesting an organic connection. Also the tendrils themselves curl downwards. This is very uncommon in Boeotian ware, where the tendrils upon which palmettes are supported almost invariably curl upwards, *e.g.* *JHS* 1926 pl. ii. 1.

Very noticeable in practically all the vases of this group is the liberal use of red ochre to heighten the colour of the ground. It is generally applied on borders and zones of subordinate decoration, the main zones being left in their natural buff, which shows very yellow by comparison with the artificial red beside it.

It seems likely that the Branteghem workshop was part of a larger concern employing painters in both Red-Figure and Black-Figure. Lullies (*AM* 65 1940 p. 13) attributes three other vases to the painter of the Judgment of Paris, who painted the Athens krater with Selene (our no. 6). The fact that there is not much stylistic connection between these four R.F. vases of his and the Branteghem B.F. group does not exclude the possibility that he worked in this factory, though it is equally possible that a man who learnt to paint floral pyxides in this factory left it and painted lids for the Judgment of Paris painter elsewhere. How many hands were employed on the B.F. vases here listed I am unable to say, but nos. 2, 3, 4 are very close together in quality of line and detail of drawing as well as in the forms of the floral elements used, while the same can be said of the two lids nos. 5 and 6. The

Brussels stamnos-pyxis (no. 7), although its forms are the same as those of the two lids just mentioned, is painted with a finer, lighter touch, and this vase has other features that differentiate it from the rest (see below, p. 25). Of the animal vases, the Berlin lid (no. 8) is by the same hand as the Branteghem pyxis.

As to date, the motive of lotuses and palmettes linked by a snake-like tendril was well established in Boeotia by 424 B.C. It is found on four kylikes from the polyandrion of the Thespians who died at Delium,[1] and on a number of other kylikes of about the same date, mainly of unknown provenance.[2] Our group is probably to be dated a little while before this, possibly about 430 B.C. This accords with Lullies' observation (*AM* 65 1940 p. 15) that the painter of the Judgment of Paris worked under the influence of Attic vase-painters of the period immediately following the Parthenon sculptures.

There is a small group of lebetes that may have some connection with the Branteghem vases. In place of the birds and flowers of the Heidelberg lebes they have wreaths of leaves in the main zone between two bands of bars.

(1) Bonn 740, *AA* 1933 p. 31 no. 5, p. 27 Fig. 27. Ivy wreath.
(2) Munich. Ivy wreath below wave-meander. On foot, framed tongues.
(3) Athens 12694. Myrtle wreath below wave-meander. On foot, rays.

The Bonn lebes is like the Heidelberg lebes (no. 12) in shape and decoration generally, and there is the same contrast between the yellowish ground of the main zone and the borders reddened with ochre. The Munich lebes is larger, with a more elaborately moulded stem and foot, and the Athens lebes forms a pair with it. The ivy wreath of the Munich vase is identical with that in Bonn. It is a motive not used in the Branteghem group,[3] but the myrtle which replaces it on the Athens lebes is familiar there. The rays on the foot of the Athens vase recall the rays round the bottom of the Reading and Nauplia pyxides (Pl. 6, 1 and 2), and similarly the tongues of the Munich lebes correspond with the tongues in the same position on the Branteghem pyxis (Froehner pl. 46).

Together with the Heidelberg lebes, Pagenstecher figured a stamnos-pyxis, also in Heidelberg, with birds at a bush [4] (*AJA* 1909 p. 394 Fig. 4*a*) which belongs to a group of vases that is in many ways parallel to the Branteghem group and cannot be far removed from it, either in place of origin or in date. It may be called the ' Thetis group ', from the pleasing stamnos-pyxis in the Louvre showing Thetis and the Nereids travelling on the backs of sea-monsters over the sea with the arms of Achilles (Giraudon ph. 19506). I drew attention to this group in *AA* 1933 pp. 29 f. when publishing a krater in Bonn, and gave a list of twenty vases belonging to it, more than half of them being skyphoi of Kabeiric shape, and one a R.F. krater. To these I should have added the Oxford skyphos with Odysseus and Kirke (Gardner *Ashmolean Vases* 262 Pl. 26). Most of the vases in the list are still unpublished, and I take this opportunity of figuring two of them. Pl. 7, 5 shows a handleless bowl (Athens 13904) with holes just beneath the rim for a metal ring or hook to hang it up by. On the top of the rim is a dotted wave-meander. The decoration corresponds very closely with that of the Heidelberg stamnos-pyxis. The palmettes, like those under the handles of the

[1] Keramopoullos Πρακτικά 1911 pp. 153 f.
[2] Among published vases the nearest to the Thespian kylikes is Rhitsona gr. 123 no. 32, Ure *Sixth- and Fifth-Century Pottery* Pl. XXIV. Other examples of the snaky tendril are seen in *JHS* 1926 p. 56 Figs. 1 and 2 and Pl. II 1.
[3] But cp. the fragment from the Kabeirion *AM* 1888 Taf. X, where a very similar ivy wreath is seen in conjunction with maenads whose drapery, as Pfuhl noted *MuZ* p. 717, is reminiscent of that of the Nikes of the Branteghem pyxis.
[4] The lid, as Pagenstecher noted, *ibid.* p. 396, is alien.

Heidelberg vase, of which only a small portion can be seen in Pagenstecher's illustration, are delicately drawn and are in general effect a good deal like those of the Branteghem group, and particularly those of the Brussels stamnos-pyxis (Pl. 7, 4)[1] except that, while the Brussels palmettes, in common with the rest of their group, have no heart at all, these have a triple heart, each section with a dot in the middle. A clumsy version of the same palmette, though with a heart of only a single member, adorns the reverse of a careless little bell-krater of the same group in Vienna [2] (Pl. 7, 6 a and b). The same type of palmette, triple-hearted, is to be seen beneath the handles of the krater with hero and snake, *Eph. Arch.* 1890 p. 133 and pl. 7. This krater, by the painter of the Thetis vase, the chief painter of the group, uses the R.F. technique only for the main panels, all the borders and the palmettes under the handles being in B.F. Another vase, this time purely R.F. and by a different hand, has recently been brought into connection with the group by Lullies (*AM.* 65, 1940, p. 23, Taf. 27). It is a skyphos in Athens (CC. 1940) showing Aphrodite at her toilet, attended by Eros in the presence of three satyrs. The painter, who may have been a pupil or associate of the Thetis painter, almost exactly reproduces the dotted veil with fringed border worn by Thetis and her Nereids on the Louvre stamnos-pyxis, and the face of the satyr peeping over the hill in the background bears a family resemblance to the full-face grotesques of Kabeiric skyphoi from the Thetis workshop, in particular those of Berlin 3286. It is hoped that further light will be thrown on this important group by the late Professor Wolters' long-awaited book on the Kabeirion finds.[3]

Still another of Pagenstecher's Heidelberg vases has fellows, hitherto unpublished. It is the cup shown *ibid.* p. 396 fig. 6 with satyr and woman. The same persons occur on three other vases, the most important being a large cup in Nauplia. This group is rustic in the extreme.

(1) Kylix, Nauplia 544, Pl. 8, 7 a and b. A. Seated woman with maid standing before her. B. Seated woman with tray and satyr standing. Beneath handles, flower.
(2) Kylix, Heidelberg. *AJA* 1909 p. 396 fig. 6. A. Satyr and woman each carrying a tray. B. Satyr carrying a tray in each hand and woman carrying a flower. Beneath handles, flower.
(3) Kylix, Thebes. Foot missing. A and B. Woman carrying flower, followed by a satyr. Beneath handles, flower.
(4) Handleless bowl, Athens CC. 1118. Pl. 9, fig. 8 a, b, c. Satyr and woman, palmette, seated woman with tray, palmette, satyr with tray, palmette, two women, palmette.

The Nauplia cup is very large,[4] and more care and skill are shown in the painting than in the case of the other three vases. The figures throughout are extraordinarily grotesque, but the abundance of plant life (long-stemmed leafy plants, large flowers springing naturalistically from the ground, and especially the tall reeds of the Nauplia cup (Pl. 8)) gives a pleasant suggestion of the open air. The large flower with three petals (lotus?) seems to have some special significance. It not only grows in the open to the size of a large cabbage (see Pl. 8, 7 and Pl. 9, 8c), but it is frequently carried in the hand (on no. 4, Pl. 9; on both sides of no. 3 and on the reverse of no. 2), and generally adorns the trays carried by both women and satyrs.[5] A very large version of it, with some variation in detail, is placed under the handle of each of the three cups. The palmettes are of a distinctive type. The heart

[1] Apart from the palmettes, two other features of the Brussels stamnos-pyxis are familiar in the Thetis group but rare in the Branteghem group—the dot-border above and the wave-meander below the palmette-zone.
[2] Kunsthistorisches Museum inv. 2026, from Thebes.
[3] The book, I understand, is now published, but is not yet available in England.
[4] Ht. 0·185 m., diam. without handles 0·27 m.
[5] Collignon and Couve *Catalogue* p. 349 no. 1118 mistakenly regard the flowers as birds pecking at the food on the trays.

consists of rather more than a semicircle clumsily painted in such very thick glaze that the result is messy in the extreme.

The Heidelberg cup is from Boeotia, and the Nauplia cup belonged to a collection made in Boeotia.[1] I do not know where the fragmentary cup in Thebes came from. The provenance of the Athens bowl is given, rather surprisingly, as Corinth, but that is not incompatible with Boeotian origin. Nevertheless these vases do not show any very close connection with any known Boeotian style. What they call to mind is rather the degenerate Attic ware made by the followers of the Haimon painter (Haspels *ABL* pp. 130f). Three cups in this manner have been found at Rhitsona in graves 76, 108, and 139. Compare, for instance, Rhitsona 139.40, satyr and woman, and 108.6, seated women, *Sixth- and Fifth-Century Pottery* pl. XXII, with our Pl. 8. The shape of the cups is practically the same. The Attic palmettes with their straight, stick-like leaves are less shapely than ours, but have hearts of the same kind. The figures of both have a certain likeness, but the Boeotians (especially the nonchalant satyrs) lack the heavy lumpishness of the Attic. Their numerous accessories and variety of detail reveal a freshness that comes as a relief after the stale dullness of the Haimon school. Cups such as 139.40 were probably among the latest Attic B.F. types to be imported into Boeotia, and thereafter the Boeotians set about supplying their own market. They may well have thought that they could do better than that. In *Sixth and Fifth* pp. 74 f. I suggested that this new development may have coincided with the beginning of the Peloponnesian War. It may, of course, have started somewhat earlier, when Attic B.F. began to degenerate. Miss Haspels (*ABL* p. 189) appears to date such vases as Rhitsona 76.3 [2] and 139.40 as early as the second quarter of the fifth century. Allowing a certain time for the type to become widespread and familiar in Boeotia, we have an approximate date in the earlier part of the third quarter of the fifth century for the painter of our Nauplia satyr-cup group.

Another painter who owes something to these late cups in the manner of the Haimon Painter is the man who painted the three Boeotian cups found at Rhitsona in Grave 139, see *Sixth and Fifth* pp. 74 f. and pl. XXIII. When these were published in 1927 no others of the sort were known, but since then Reading University has acquired in the Paris market a fourth example from the same hand, Inv. no. 29.v.2: Pl. 10, 9 a and b. On one side is Pegasus, on the other a flying Nike. All four cups are fresh and sprightly, and compare well with the corresponding Attic as exemplified by the one specimen actually found in this same grave, *Sixth and Fifth* pl. XXII 139.40. Grave 139 is plainly to be dated from its contents (largely black glaze vases) a little earlier than grave 123, which latter is no less plainly of about the same date as the Thespian polyandrion of 424 B.C. The excavators date grave 139 about 440–430 B.C. (*l.c.* p. 81), which makes the painter of these Rhitsona cups roughly contemporary with the other imitator of the Haimon school, the painter of the Nauplia satyr-cup group.

Though the four groups so far dealt with are of undoubtedly Boeotian origin, it is not easy to assign them all to particular localities. In the case of the 'Thetis group' the provenance of more than half of the vases is given as Thebes or the Theban Kabeirion. It is likely that skyphoi of Kabeiric type would be made in the neighbourhood of the Kabeirion; therefore we can assume that the Thetis Painter, who was responsible for so many of them,

[1] The Nikandros collection.

[2] *Black Glaze Pottery from Rhitsona* pl. IX.

had his workshop in or near Thebes. The Branteghem workshop cannot have been far off and indeed the Branteghem pyxis itself is said to have come from Thebes and the fragmentary oenochoe (no. 11) is from the Kabeirion. There is nothing to indicate where the Nauplia satyr-cup group originated. The painter of the fourth group, since three of the four known examples are from Rhitsona, and they have every appearance of being bought specially for the funeral which was the occasion of their burial, may well have had his workshop at Mykalessos or in the neighbourhood. Of the neighbouring town of Aulis, Pausanias ix.19.8 writes that in his day there were few inhabitants and they were potters. There is a fifth group of vases, with purely floral decoration, to which we can with some confidence assign a local habitation. Turning once more to the collection in Reading, we find a lekythos (Pl. 10, 10) decorated with a palmette and leaves. The heart of the palmette is a chevron, and on each side of the centre-leaf there is a group of three dots. The groups of leaves have rather the appearance of half a palmette shaken loose. This lekythos belongs to a series of vases of which I know so far nine examples:—

(1) Lekythos, Reading 35.iv.2. Pl. 10, 10. Clusters of loose leaves on each side of a palmette.
(2) Pyxis, Bonn 385. Lid missing. *AA* 1933 p. 30 Fig. 34. Palmettes and lotuses.
(3) Stamnos-pyxis, Chalcis 660. On body, palmettes and lotuses; above, bars; below, wave-meander. On lid, palmettes.
(4) Pyxis lid, Athens Nat. Mus. apotheke. From Eretria, Palmettes and lotuses with swastikas.
(5) Squat pyxis, Thebes. Handles missing. Pl. 10, 11. On body, vertical wavy lines. On lid, palmettes, lotuses and clusters of leaves.
(6) Squat pyxis, Chalcis 662a. On body, vertical wavy lines. On lid, palmettes and lotuses.
(7) Squat pyxis, Chalcis 662b. On body, down-pointing rays. On lid, palmettes and dot rosettes.
(8) Pyxis lid, Chalcis 662c. Knob missing. Palmettes, border of small circles and vertical bars.
(9) Plate, Berlin F4086. B.F. palmettes, lotuses and leaves, bordered by R.F. laurel wreath.

Characteristic of this group are palmettes with a very elongated central leaf, rather bulbous at the tip, and with hearts formed of one, two, or three chevrons (for three chevrons, see the pyxis in Bonn *AA* 1933 p. 30 fig. 34). The palmettes are generally circumscribed with tendrils that terminate in a sickle-like curve (Pl. 10, 11). Dots are liberally used, very frequently in double rows bordering the petals of lotuses (*AA ibid.*), sometimes in groups of three on each side of the central leaf of a palmette (Pl. 10, 10, 11), and sometimes forming rosettes in the field (Pl. 10, 11).

We are fortunate in knowing the provenance of five of these nine vases. Four of them are in Chalcis Museum and were found in the locality. One is from Eretria. The Berlin plate was said to have come from Corinth, but that was very likely the place of purchase or of export rather than the place of finding. Nothing is known of the antecedents of the pyxis now in Thebes. No example is known to have come from any site in Boeotia. This makes it probable that, in spite of their Boeotian appearance, they were made on the Euboean side of the Euripus, in either Chalcis or Eretria. The nearest Boeotian potteries of note would be those of Tanagra, and there are one or two elements in the decoration of our group that suggest influence from Tanagra. Chevrons are much used in both styles, but while the Euboean painter uses them for the hearts of palmettes, at Tanagra they stand beneath the handles of kylikes.[1] Dots occur with some frequency on Tanagra cups,[2] though they are never used in quite the same way as those of the Euboean group. Clusters of loose leaves also occur at Tanagra, but again there is a difference, and the palmette shapes of the two groups are quite distinct.

The shapes of the vases of this group are unusual. There are no parallels for the lekythos

[1] Fourteen examples in Schimatari Museum, cp. *JHS* 1926 p. 60.
[2] *JHS* 1926 p. 61 fig. 5, pl. III 12, 16, pl. IV 28 and other unpublished examples.

and the plate, as far as I know, in Boeotian floral styles. The squat pyxides [1] are of a special shape. The large Theban pyxis (diam. 0·25 m.) lacks the handles, but the two examples in Chalcis of about half the size (no. 6 diam. 0·11 m., no. 7 0·125 m.) have handles of kylix type with a very sharp upward twist. There is another squat pyxis in Athens, CC 1121. On the body are vertical wavy lines; on the lid, two silhouette heads and a palmette, very coarse work and not in the style of our group. But the shape, the twisted handles, and apparently the fabric, are the same as those of our squat pyxides, and the vase comes from Eretria.

There is little evidence for dating this group. Though the stamnos-pyxis in Chalcis (no. 3) comes from a local grave, and probably the other vases in Chalcis Museum likewise, no grave contexts are known. The vase shapes, and particularly the sharply twisting handles, point to the fourth century. If the chevrons are derived from the Tanagra chevron cups they indicate a date well on in the earlier half of the century (*JHS* 1926 p. 61).

We have seen how, in the third quarter of the fifth century, Boeotian potteries arose to carry on in their own idiom on the other side of the border the tradition of the decaying Attic B.F. style. Similarly it seems, half a century or more later, the Boeotian floral tradition, now in its latest phase, was taken up in some small workshop just across the Euripus, near enough to Boeotia to reflect the general tendencies of the Boeotian pot-painters, but with definite individual characteristics and apparently a limited local market.

ANNIE D. URE.

[1] Pyxides rather than lekanai; the bowls are rather too deep for lekanai and they have not the ribbon-handles characteristic of that shape.

AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF THE CLASSICAL ANTIQUITIES OF THE ISLAND OF CHIOS CARRIED OUT BETWEEN THE MONTHS OF MARCH AND JULY 1938

Although Chios and its antiquities have been visited and described by many travellers from the earliest times, it is only recently that any serious archaeological investigations have been carried out in the island, and up to the present only two sites have been thoroughly excavated. Dr. Kourouniotis, who carried out the first excavation on Chios, gives a list, in Ἀρχ. Δελτ. I, p. 64, of the more important references to the island up to the time of that article, and for a complete list the reader is referred to the *Bibliography of Chios* by Dr. Philip Argenti (Oxford, Clarendon Press).

Since Dr. Kourouniotis wrote there have been several articles published in various periodicals, almost all on the epigraphy of Chios, and his list should now be supplemented by the following: Plassart and Picard, *BCH* XXXVII 193; A. Reinach, *REG* XXII pp. 193–4; Rehm, *Gnomon* II p. 124; Evangelides Ἀρχ. Δελτ. IX παράρτημα p. 51; Ἀρχ. Δελτ. XI παράρτημα p. 23 (and cf. Keil, *Jahreshefte* XIV p. 54); *Arch. Anz.* XLV p. 144; Peek, Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. 1931, p. 107; Robert, *REG* 1929 32–38; Robert, *BCH* LIX p. 453; Vanseveren, *Rev. de Phil.* 1937 p. 321; Ἀθηνᾶ XXI p. 347; *Sitz. Berlin* 1926 pp. 90 ff.; *Rev. de Phil.* III p. 126; *RA* XXXVI p. 199; *REG* XLIV p. 223; *Arch. Anz.* XLVII p. 173; Ἑλληνικά, IV pp. 15, 425; *Mondo Classico* II 129; *Arch. Anz.* 1934, p. 196; *Ath. Mitt.* XIII p. 180; *Athenaeum* XII p. 3; *Jahreshefte* XXVIII p. 197; *Zeit. Sav.* LIII p. 508; Robert, *BCH* LVII pp. 467, 483, 505 (cf. *Historia* VIII p. 704); Listy. *Filol.* LXIII p. 486; *Phil. Woch.* LVII p. 393; Prof. M. Guarducci, *Memorie dei Lincei* ser. VI vol. 6 fasc. 1 pp. 63–7, 95–8.

The excavations which have been carried out have been those of Dr. Kourouniotis in 1914–15 at Latomi and Kato Phana (Ἀρχ. Δελτ. I p. 64 and II p. 190), of Miss Lamb in 1934, also at Kato Phana (*BSA* 1934–5), and of Miss Eccles in 1938 at Haghios Galas. In 1934 Miss Eccles made a tour through some of the northern villages and also to part of the south, and I am indebted to her for kindly placing at my disposal her notes on this tour. I must also express my gratitude to Dr. Philip Argenti, whose generosity and love of his native island made my own investigation possible.

Chios could be divided both physically and economically into three—the north, *Voreióchora*, the centre, *Kentróchora*, and the south *Mastichóchora*, though a more usual division in the travellers' accounts is into two, the Apanomerea and the Katomerea. However, the town of Chios or Chora and the Kampos, the large fertile plain which spreads south and west of it, are clearly not to be included under those terms, and though the central ridge of barren limestone presents a sharp contrast with the orange-groves of the Kampos, it cannot be ascribed either to the southern or northern division. The last two are fairly homogeneous: the north is very mountainous, and the villages are difficult of access; its main towns are Volissós and Kardhámyla, both now connected by road with the town of Chios. Both possess harbours, though that at Kardhámyla is not a very good one, as the holding ground is bad and it is exposed to the north-east wind; however, it is visited by a great number of caïques in the coasting trade and carries on some trade with Mitylene. Volissós has a better anchorage and a small harbour for caïques. Both are mentioned as ports in Thuc. VIII. 24. 3; cf. *Mediterranean Pilot*, Vol. IV pp. 277–8. The main products of the north of Chios are fruit, such as cherries, apples, and pears, though corn is grown on the slopes of the mountains wherever possible. The south, the 'Mastic country,' is not so mountainous as the

FIG. 1. OUTLINE MAP OF CHIOS, SHOWING ANCIENT SITES.

By permission of Dr. Philip Argenti and the Cambridge University Press. Scale about 10 miles to an inch.

The spelling of the place-names sometimes differs from that in the text.

north, being mainly a country of rolling hills, with some fairly extensive plains: extensive, that is to say, for Greece, and in particular for the islands. The villages are larger and more prosperous than in the north, and apart from corn, cherries, and other products, its main interest is the mastic, of which it has a monopoly.

From the archaeological point of view the centre of interest must be the town of Chios, and it seems certain that the ancient town occupied the same site as the modern one.[1] On the one hand, we have no reason to assume a break in the continuity of occupation of the site nor any evidence of such an event, and, on the other hand, we have the positive evidence of discoveries made within the present area of the town, such as, for instance, the large number of ' Naucratite ' sherds discovered during building operations on the Kardhámyla road, and also the fact that the great majority of the public inscriptions of Chios now in the Museum were found in the town, and mainly in the Kastro. The obvious disadvantage of this interesting case of historical continuity is that the most important public buildings and other remains of the ancient town must be considered humanly speaking inaccessible, and the only antiquities which are likely to be available for excavation will come from the outskirts of the ancient town. *A priori* one would expect, in particular, cemeteries, and, as I shall show, we can determine the position of some of these. Before leaving the town proper, however, I should mention some remains in a rather peculiar position. In the water in front of the outer mole of the harbour on the north side—part, that is to say, of the pile of large stones on which that mole is built—there are some marble column bases, capitals and pieces of drums. They are of various sizes, considerably battered and encrusted by the sea, and hardly worth dredging up; from the appearance of the better-preserved of the bases it would seem to be Hellenistic. M. Madhias, the head master of the Chios Gymnasium, says they came from Erythrae, which is not impossible, since there is a constant tradition that worked stone from Erythrae has been brought over to Chios from time to time to be re-used in buildings there.

Dr. Kourouniotis ('Αρχ. Δελτ. I, p. 67) reported in 1914 that the fields surrounding the city almost all contain fragments of clay sarcophagi lying on the surface or near it, and this seems to be true to-day. The places where these fragments are most common are round the Boëtheia monastery, all along the top of the next ridge to the north, and below the hill of Latomi on the south-west side of it. The last-mentioned place was the scene of Kourouniotis' first excavation, in the course of which he uncovered thirty burials in ten days. These he

[1] *Note by Dr. Philip Argenti* :—

(1) In this connection the only contrary evidence available is afforded in the writings of the following geographers and travellers:

(*a*) André Thevet, who visited Chios in 1549, records in his *Cosmographie du Levant*, an unpublished MS in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (MSS français No. 15453, Vol. II entitled *Le Grand Insulaire*, fol. 162 *verso*) ' Au milieu [of the island] vous aurez la ville de Chios, qui fut autrefois posée sur le mont estant à présent sur la marine belle marchande et peu forte. . . .'

(*b*) Albert Jouvin de Rochefort, who was in Chios in 1668 and in his work *Le voyageur d'Europe où est le voyage de Turquie*, Paris, 1676, Vol. VII, p. 302, writes ' La Coronata Couvent des Dominiquains n'en [from Nea Moni] est pas fort éloigné.'

(*c*) Olfert Dapper in his *Description exacte des isles de l'Archipel*, Amsterdam, 1703, p. 214, when writing in 1688, affirms that ' La capitale de l'île etoit autrefois bâtie sur le sommet d'une montagne; mais sa situation paroissent incommode à ses habitants, ils se changèrent au bord de la mer, où ils commencèrent à s'habitüer. Il y a un couvent au pié de cette montagne apellé *Coronata*.'

(*d*) Vincenzio Maria Coronelli in his *Isolario*, Venezia 1696 (Vol. II of *Atlante Veneto*) p. 270 tells us that ' La città ch'è situata nella parte di Catomerea alla costa Orientale, era anticamente fabbricata sul Monte vicino col nome *Chiopolis*, ma fù poi ridotta nella pianura alla Sponda del suo gran Porto, al quale con la magnificenza delle Fabbriche forma Teatro, e tiene il nome dell'Isola.'

If these authorities may be in any way considered as reliable, a summary of their information would be: the ancient town of Chios, Chiopolis, would have been situated near Nea Moni at the top of a hill on the lower slopes of which was later the Dominican Monastery of Coronata.

This would place the ancient town to the North-West of the present one.

dated to the end of the sixth century on the evidence of the rather infrequent tomb furniture. He also mentions three burial mounds, one of which, on the hill south of the aqueduct τῆς Κόρης τὸ Γέφύρι, he excavated, while the other two still await excavation. They are: one on the top of the hill Phliskounás, north of the aqueduct, and the other on the right of the road to Karyés. On the map published by the Koraës Society the position of the latter is immediately to the right of the word Καρυαί, and on the ridge which runs down from there towards the town there are other mounds. At a point on the ridge where it is cut by an imaginary line drawn from the top of Phliskounás to the church on the top of the next hill to the south there are considerable remains of clay sarcophagi, and apparently one still buried and only slightly exposed. It would seem that the surface has been eroded since these burials were made and that the sarcophagi are being gradually uncovered.

On the top of the hill of Latomi there is evidence of even earlier burials. Latomi is a high, steep hill rising to the left of the Volissós road behind Livádhia, and, as its name implies, it has for some time been used as a quarry from which a dark red stone is won.[1] On the way up there are large fragments of columns of the stone, unfinished and half-buried. The antiquity and extensive nature of the quarrying can be seen from the bank of chips through which a road has been cut to reach the rock face, which is more than six feet high, and from the fact that the hill has been hollowed out almost like the crater of a volcano. The highest point is to the west, where the summit is not of the red stone, but of the ordinary dark grey limestone which is the prevalent stone all over Chios. Carved out of the pinnacle of rock are two tombs which seem to have been exposed by fairly recent falls of rock. In both the main chamber is circular with a vertical cylindrical shaft leading down to it. The more completely preserved of the two is almost on the present summit of the hill, and the rock fall which exposed it seems only to have carried away the covering stone and a small part of the top of the vertical shaft. The shaft is 3 feet 9 inches deep, strongly concave on the side opposite the chamber, and curving forward at the top. The length of the chamber from the bottom of the shaft is 2 feet 8 inches and the width 1 foot 10 inches. The roof and sides are curved, and all faces are very smoothly worked. The other tomb is at the bottom of the east side of the rock; here the whole of one side of the shaft has disappeared in what again seems to have been a recent fall of rock, so that it has the appearance at the moment of an old-fashioned hip-bath. The shaft is 5 feet 9 inches deep and the chamber measures 2 feet 8 inches by 1 foot 11½ inches. The sides of this are also very smoothly worked (though infiltration of water has in some places set up a slight stalagmitic action), and this seems conclusive against any suggestion that these could be merely natural cavities, of which there are indeed several in this rock, quite apart from the fact that they are almost exactly similar to the tombs at Daphní, near Dótia (p. 38).

It seems that the main burial-ground for the ancient city was in the hills to the west of it, and though Dr. Kourouniotis' excavations there were rather disappointing, as tomb furniture was the exception rather than the rule, a further investigation might be more fortunate. Other ancient burials are to be found at a site on the shore about two miles south of the town near the petrol store (Γκαζαποθήκη) in the district of Kato Varvási. Here I uncovered two clay sarcophagi which were lying buried in the shingle right on the shore: the more complete is now in the Museum. Both were packed tight with stone and sand, and contained no tomb furniture, though in both there were the leg-bones still preserved. Of one only half, the end for the feet, is preserved, of the other we have the whole of the

[1] It is perhaps the same as that mentioned by Pococke (*Description of the East* I ch. 1) under the name of Μαρμάρου τράπεζα, which supplied the red marble for Nea Moni.

lower part, though broken in half, and half of the cover. It is of thick red clay, undecorated and in shape is exactly like the Clazomenian sarcophagi, with the triangular pieces in the corners. It is also exactly similar to those illustrated by Kourouniotis, *loc. cit.*, pp. 68, 69, figs. 1, 3, which he dates, as mentioned above, to the end of the sixth century. These two parallels should also suggest a similar date for these sarcophagi, though allowance must be made, in default of direct evidence, for conservatism in burial customs. The dimensions of the complete sarcophagus are: length over all 6 feet 1 inch; width, at top 2 feet 6 inches, at bottom 2 feet 3 inches; height to rim of lower part 11½ inches, to the top of the cover 1 foot 4 inches. The edges of the sarcophagus project slightly on the outside and more strongly on the inside and are 4½ inches wide; the projecting pieces in the corners measure 3 inches each way. The cover is 4½ inches high and in profile has two stages; on the inside are ribs of clay running transversely across it for the purpose of strengthening it. The sarcophagus appeared to be set in a kind of concrete round the outside; though this may have been due simply to the action of the sea, but the area of it was very limited and definite, and it may have been intended as a protective measure. There are probably many other burials in the neighbourhood, one can see there in the water other portions of sarcophagi, encrusted with stone, and also bones imbedded in the concrete-like mixture of sand and stones mentioned above. Mr. Stavros Bahas, whose house is immediately opposite the site, says that forty years ago he and some others found a sarcophagus '*de luxe*' (πολυτελείας) which was decorated with paintings. Even more interesting was his statement, which I was able to substantiate, that there were remains of houses in the water at this point of the coast. The water here is very shallow for a long way out, and over an area of a quarter of a mile square there can be seen in the water remains of the foundations of houses and walls. Pots are, according to local information, often brought up from the bottom there and farther out. It seems clear that there was at one time a settlement in the bay which was submerged by a subsidence of the land, possibly as a result of one of the earthquakes which have visited Chios, or possibly by a slow process of erosion which is still going on there, helped at the present by the removal of shingle from the beach. This drowned city is identified locally as Leuconium, which is mentioned by Thucydides VIII. 24.3 as the scene of a defeat of the Chians by the Athenians under Leon and Diomedon in the summer of 412.[1] Presumably it was on the sea, because Thucydides says τὸν πρὸς τοὺς Χίους πόλεμον ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἐποιοῦντο and the other places which the Athenians raided were on the sea. It is, as always, difficult to tell whether the name Leuconium given to the site is an example of persistence of tradition or of an *ad hoc* identification by a local savant of more recent date. In favour of the former is the fact that some people refer to the cape on the south side of the bay, whose most usual name is Haghia Helene, as Leucyme,[2] and even if the identification is not based on any genuine tradition, it seems to me a good one. If it is right, the Athenian fleet, starting from their bases in the Oenussae and the territory of Erythrae, will have sailed round Chios along the north, west, and south coasts, and finished with a descent on the east coast at a place which has always been a favourite one for a landing (cf. Philip Argenti, *Chios Liberata*, p. xviii, and *Expedition of Colonel Fabvier to Chios*, p. xxiii).

The Daskalópetra or 'School of Homer' near Pasha Vrisi, just off the Kardhámyla road, at the point where it leaves the coastal plain of Vrontádhos to negotiate the corniche between

[1] It is also mentioned in the inscription referring to a donation by Attalus ('Αθηνᾶ 1908 no. 3 col. A 27-8; cf. Plassart and Picard *BCH* XXXVII p. 211 ['Αδ]μητίδαις Λευκωνίοις.

[2] Or, according to Zolotas, *loc. cit.* p. 176, Leuconia. The name will be derived from the colour of the soil. The Mastic Country is still divided into two regions, known as the Aspra Chomata and the Kokkina Chomata, according to the colour of the soil—the 'White soil' region is on the east side, the 'Red soil' on the west.

Mount Aepos and the sea, has long been one of the regular ' sights ' of Chios. It is described by various travellers, but usually in such differing terms as to show that the mutilated state which the monument exhibits at present is not of recent production. Thus Thévenot in 1656 saw an ox and a wolf, Pococke in 1739 two Muses, and Marcellus in 1820 a sphinx, none of which seem to me probable restorations of the remains of carving now visible. On the other hand, Chandler in 1764 gives an account which seems entirely accurate and probable; he was the first to identify it as an open-air sanctuary of Cybele.[1] It is a bastion of rock at the foot of the mountain, which here approaches very closely to the sea, falling steeply towards the sea for about 20 feet. The top is circular and roughly levelled, and round the edge there ran a seat, hewn out of the rock, with a back to it. Whether the seat ran the whole way round it is impossible to say; in any case it is only preserved in part. Towards the south-west side of the rock is a roughly cubical erection about 3 feet high, carved from the rock, which appears to have been the altar; it is decorated on all four sides with reliefs now badly battered. On the front a projection in the middle can just be made out as a seated figure, whose head is missing; on the two adjoining sides are crouching lions whose hind legs and tails can be made out fairly easily; their hind legs are strongly bent, their backs slope downwards at an acute angle and their fore-paws project in front of the front plane; the heads are missing. On the back is another lion (or, technically speaking, a panther, as the head is frontal), this time, as Chandler says, *passant regardant*; the chest is shown frontal, and both fore-legs are shown. It is very extensively damaged, and only the outline can be distinguished, but it looks a very crude piece of work. There also seem to be two lions' claws at the corner at the back, suggesting the feet of a table or chair.

As to the date, the extensive damage to the reliefs makes it difficult if not impossible to come to any definite conclusion, but if a date must be suggested, it seems to me that one in the archaic period is the most likely. I base this not on the style of the seated figure (which, though it does slightly suggest Archaic Ionic parallels, is so battered as to be capable of suggesting almost any style in seated figures), but on the reliefs of the lions. The attitudes of those on the sides—the crouch with the hind-legs bent, the hind-quarter high in the air, and the back sloping down from them in a straight line to the fore-legs extended straight in front—can be easily paralleled in Archaic East Greek art, by a glance at almost any Rhodian vase, for instance. I do not, of course, mean to suggest that it is exclusive to East Greek art—it is a very common attitude on all mainland fabrics as well, and in both was derived from Oriental sources. The relief on the back also looks archaic, though in a bad style, and it is difficult to decide whether the crudity of attitude is to be ascribed to the date or to the incapacity of the artist. At any rate, this one is clearly intended to be a lion, which confirms my otherwise uncertain description of the two on the sides as lions; uncertain because, lacking the heads or even in some cases with the heads represented, such figures might be taken for dogs.

For the rest of the central part of the island I have practically nothing new to record—nothing, in fact, except some carvings of Roman date built into the Byzantine church of the Panaghia at Krina, near Vabýloi. The best of these is a slab decorated with two bucrania connected by a garland, built into the west end. On the wall with a gate outside the west end, to the right of the gate, is a piece of an egg-and-dart moulding, also probably of Roman date. In the south-east corner of the church, high up, there are two pieces of cable pattern which may be of the same date, or possibly Byzantine. These architectural fragments presumably came from some temple or altar which we may also presume was near at hand,

[1] For a later description with sketch, cf. Conze, *Philologus* XIV pp. 156–7.

but I was unable to find any traces in the neighbourhood. That these unimportant scraps should be the only remains of antiquity which I was able to discover in so fertile and thickly populated a region as the Kampos is very surprising. It is possible that the attraction of the town prevented any large settlements from growing up near it, and it is interesting that the only places for which we have any testimony from antiquity are on the extreme edge of the Kampos. Thus in the Attalus inscription mentioned above there are references to estates at Ereithae, which must be to the north of Vrontadhos, where there is a church Panaghia Ereithiane, and at Vasileionoikos, which is towards the southern end of the Kampos. Inscriptions have been found at Verberáton (*SGDI* 5655), Daphnónas (Ἀθηνᾶ no. 8, 1908) and Plagia near Zyphiá (*Nordionische Steine* p. 18 no. 5*a*), which three villages are tucked away in the western corner of the district and from Neochóri (Ἀθηνᾶ 1908 no. 120) and Sclaviá (*CIG* 2215 and addenda 2239*d*), which are on its southern edge. There is also one recorded from Karyés (Ἀθηνᾶ no. 151 and Ἀρχ. Δελτ. I pp. 91, 92) which scarcely counts as being in the Kampos. For the western half of the central division the only testimony is an inscription from Lithí (*SGDI* 5657), and it seems to me improbable that either Aughónyma or Anábatos (which was never more than a stronghold) was inhabited in antiquity.

Turning now to the south, the first feature of interest is on the main road to Kalamotí, just past Tholopotámi at the point where the road to Harmólia branches off to the right. This is the famous ' Pelasgic ' wall first mentioned by Studniczka, *Ath. Mitt.* XIII p. 163; it is also marked, though rather vaguely, on the Koraës Society's map. It is built of the local limestone in the regular polygonal manner, the large stones, many measuring 4 or 5 feet each way, being carefully fitted together, but not so closely as to leave no room for plants to grow in the crevices. It is 7 feet 6 inches high at the highest place measured, and extends in a straight line for 93 yards. At the end nearest the road a path has been cut through it, leading down to the village of Myrmíngi, and from this one can ascertain the width of the bottom row of stones, which is here 2 feet 2 inches. It runs down a slight slope in a direction roughly parallel with the modern road—that is, north-easterly—and towards both ends it diminishes regularly in height down to ground level, until it seems to sink into the ground, though in fact I think that at those points the upper ' courses ' have been removed. At neither end could I find any trace of a continuation at right angles. Its purport is difficult to see: Studniczka, who, however, says he gave it only a very cursory examination, assumes it to have been the substructure or embankment for a road, but this suggestion, though adopted also by Kourouniotis, seems to me improbable. For the substructure of a road, like those in the Argolid, it is at once unnecessarily high and (more important) too narrow, being not more than 1 foot across at the top. Possibly Studniczka thought of it rather as an embankment against which earth and stones were piled, presumably, however, with a retaining wall on the other side, which this theory must assume to have disappeared entirely, for no assignable reason. In any case, I see no reason why a road should be raised $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet above the ground at a point which is not marshy or in any way difficult. It is most unlikely also that it can have been intended as a retaining wall for a terraced field, as is common all over Greece on sloping ground, because the ground on one side is level, and on the other, the south-eastern side towards which the wall is slightly inclined from the vertical, the ground sinks towards the hollow in which lie the fields below Myrmíngi. We must, of course, be always ready to assume great changes in the configuration of the ground in a place so exposed to earthquakes as Chios, but the disappearance of a hill of so steep a slope as to need so high a terrace wall, which should also leave the wall intact, seems too much to ask of seismology. On the whole I think the wall must have been intended as a work

of fortification (an ordinary boundary wall for a field, though also possible, would surely not demand such a massive piece of construction), though the present configuration of the ground does not easily suggest where the settlement it defended lay, and its present isolated position gives no clue to how it was combined with the rest of the fortifications. A settlement on its south-eastern side would, however, lie between it and the fairly abrupt slope which descends to the stream and the fields known as Vateméni, and would thus be adequately defended on two sides, and the other two sides could have been defended by smaller works which have now disappeared, that on the west being perhaps destroyed when the road which runs there was built.[1]

In the village of Myrmíngi, which lies to the east of this wall, I was assured that antiquities were turned up almost daily, but the only ones I was shown were a small terracotta head of Hellenistic period and of no particular merit, and a small third-century bronze coin of Chios with the magistrate's name Ἄγγέλης, of which several specimens are known. In the field below the village, by the spring, known as Vateméni, I was told that there are remains of ancient walls under the ground, and that painted sherds were frequently turned up. As my informant for the latter fact (Mr. George Kyriakodhes) appeared to have some knowledge of ancient pottery and could draw the designs on these, I give this statement more credence than usual.

At Kalamoti I noticed no more of archaeological interest than the two inscriptions mentioned by Haussoullier in *BCH* 1879 p. 324 nos. 11 and 12, but at a place called Metóchoi, to the right of the road leading down to Komí, on the bay of Kalamotí, there are a number of thick sherds lying on the surface which may be remains of larnakes and indicate an ancient necropolis. The site is a small isolated hill now crowned by a chapel.

The village of Katarráktis is said to be of recent origin, which is supported by its being on the sea-shore, as no other village in Chios is, and to have been founded by the inhabitants of Ano-Katarráktis or Palaeo-Katarráktis after the earthquake of 1881 had destroyed the former village. Ano-Katarráktis contains some Genoese ruins and the old church of the Argenti family, in part Byzantine, but that the site on the sea-shore had also been inhabited in classical times seems to be shown by the remains which have turned up there, though small and for the most part insignificant. The most interesting statement was that of Mr. Nicolas Orphanós, who said that when his house was built, he being present at the time, there were found the foundations of a large building and several marble columns, one of which was lying outside the house at the moment. On the garden wall of the house behind his there is the capital of an Ionic pilaster which he says came from the same site. A capital in the shape of two rams' heads projecting from a central block with two volutes, in the wall behind the house of Pandelís Gaïlas, I take to be Byzantine and to have come, as was stated by the inhabitants, from Palaeo-Katarráktis, as did also a carved fragment of a frieze (?) also decorated with volutes which I noticed in a wall above the stream on the way between the two villages. I noticed two inscriptions, neither of them of any particular interest. One, on a large stone in the main street of the village, appears to be a mere collection of letters, casually blocked out with a blunt instrument. Such as it is and as far as it can be made out it runs:—

edge here

ΙΘΥΓΥΘ[. . .	Θ = Ƀ
ΦΗ ⅂	? = Ϙ
ΥΚΟ	

The first letter might possibly be ϒ.

[1] Or alternatively, and perhaps more probably, the settlement was in the hollow by the spring, in a place, where there is evidence of inhabitants, though of what date it is as yet impossible to determine.

The other is on a stone which has been re-used; as there is a large blank space under the ancient writing, it has been built into the wall of the school, and the blank space employed to record the date of the school's foundation. Only two lines of the ancient inscription remain, and they are both worn and thickly covered with plaster. The letters are irregular and exaggeratedly apicated, perhaps of the first century A.D. All that can be made out is:—

[- - c. 6 - -] αφρο [- - c. 3 - -]
Letters ϕ Þ Ă [- - c. 3 - -] νεωτερα vac.

South of Patriká there is a place called Selenári, of which there was a persistent report, transmitted to me by Dr. Philip Argenti, that there were to be seen there remains of a temple—ὁ ναὸς τοῦ Σελήνου, whatever that might mean. There are in fact considerable remains of a large building whose antiquity seems guaranteed by the character of the masonry, of which in one place four courses remain undisturbed. What is left is a sort of bastion projecting into a field, about 4 or 5 feet in height: on the south side are preserved four courses of a fine ashlar masonry in the same style as that at Kato Phaná. In the field above I found one small sherd with a black glaze, of whose antiquity I feel fairly certain though any dating is impossible. In the field below there are remains of clay sarcophagi, in particular, pieces of the rims.

Emporiós is a little village with a small but sheltered harbour and a fairly extensive plain, which belongs to the commune of Pyrghí. I was shown there a whole pile of worked marble blocks, the usual blue-grey marble of the island, which had recently been dug up in the field belonging to Mr. Elias Pandeláros. They were all slightly curved, and apparently had formed a large circular structure which, to judge by the curvature, would be about 20 metres in diameter: on the other hand, there were hardly enough for a whole circle of this size, so that possibly they formed a semicircle, the background perhaps for an altar. Some had a projecting cornice at the top with a tooth-pattern underneath. One of them had apparently been used by someone practising Latin, the name Cassius, with variations, and some individual letters being lightly traced on it. Another similar piece which has been built into the wall of the field has the following inscription:—

Π L
Ο Υ ϰ Λ
Ν Ι Σ Ι ω
Π ϰ Ν

This is very lightly carved with a blunt instrument: there is an edge on the left, the second line is broken (restore Οὐαλ[έριος]?), but there is a blank space to right of the last two lines. Possibly the last three lines should read Οὐαλ[έριος Διο] | νισίω (for ου) | Παν[ί], but there is no trace of ι in the last line. However, all the letters are very faint; the surface of the stone is not so much cut or scratched as slightly stunned.

A block of stone with a cornice moulding along the top bears two inscriptions, though of different character and date. Along the upper member of the cornice runs the following:—

ΙΕΝΕLLΙΕ ⊦ΕΑΠΕΛΛϹ

The letters are irregularly spaced, and the line runs up slightly on the right; the characters themselves are carelessly and stragglingly formed. There is a break after the second epsilon.[1]

[1] This seems to run - -]ιένεω ἱερέα πελλ - - -,]ιενεω being the termination of the patronymic. πελλ - - - suggests Pella, but what can be seen of the last letter, a portion of a curve, is against any such restoration as Πελλ[αίου Διός *uel*

On the same stone lower down is the following more comprehensible inscription: ἐμνήσθη Μαρκιάνος | Ἐφέσιος Εὐτυχεους | ἀρχιατροῦ φίλου *hedera* | . Between the *epsilon* and *phi* of Ἐφεσιος another *phi* had been inscribed, but later erased. The letters are of an exaggeratedly rectilinear character as [ϴ ◇ Ρ ◇ Φ̄; the last form, an alternative form of *rho* in line B, is very odd.

Lying on the beach at Emporios are a number of fragments of large vessels, probably pithoi.[1]

A rough track leads from Emporios to Dótia, where there is a fine mediaeval castle; a little way up the hill on the path leading to the castle, about 100 yards from the wall at the foot of the hill, there is a fragment of a fluted column lying at the side of the path; farther up in a field on the left of the path there are a few fragments of tiles. At a place called Daphní, where Mr. George Chorémis has a shooting-box, and about 300 yards W.S.W. of this, there are two tombs in the side of a hill. The hill is rocky and practically barren, and the tombs are carved out of the rock, and resemble very strongly the one on the hill of Latómi. One is preserved almost completely: the chamber is round, with a diameter of about five feet, and the short shaft leading down to it is built up with stones. G. Paplos, who found the tomb, says it was covered with a large slab of Thymianá stone, a local red stone (though Thymianá is a fair distance away), and that there was a κανάλη leading down into it. I owe these facts to Miss Eccles, who saw Paplos about it; she suggests that the κανάλη was for pouring libations into the tomb. Five vases from it are now in the Museum; they are Cycladic 'jugs' of the usual type. The other tomb has collapsed and is full of earth. There may well be others in the hillside, and their sites may be shown by the mastic bushes which grow here and there, but without digging under each of them I could not establish them.

An even more interesting tomb stands at the top of the cliff sloping down to the bay of Vroulídhia; it was first discovered by Dr. Philip Argenti. It is a vaulted chamber adjoining a modern cottage, but underground. It measures 6 feet 6 inches long by 4 feet 10 inches wide, and is 5 feet 5 inches high; the vaulting is not a true vault, but the so-called 'horizontal' or Cyclopean vault, of which the best-known examples are the tombs at Isopata and Ras Shamra. Compare Evans, *The Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos* I p. 136 and *Palace of Minos* IV pp. 770–6; in fact the photograph in the last-named reference would serve as an illustration for this, except that the Chian tomb is on a smaller scale and has not got the peculiar openings which Sir Arthur Evans suggests were for the purpose of libation. There are three vertical courses of masonry, a very dark grey limestone, and above them three courses with their inside faces sloping at an angle of about 45 degrees; over the top are laid three large slabs. The stones are finely worked, and fitted very closely together for the most part: some which are not so closely fitted together have mortar between them which would, of course, if original, be a conclusive argument against the date I have suggested by the Minoan parallels cited above, but in places where the interstices between the stones are very narrow I was able to ascertain, by slipping a knife-blade in, that there was no mortar, so it would seem that it has been subsequently added by way of pointing. The entrance seems to have been enlarged later, and most of the wall on that side removed and a prop of wood put in to support the roof.

That this tomb (if it be a tomb, as the closest parallels suggest) of clearly Minoan

simile] or, to give a more local touch, Πελλ[ιναίου Διός]. The mountain is now spelt Πελίναιον, but the derivation from πέλλός or πελός = 'dark' seems to show that either spelling was possible.

[1] Emporios is mentioned by Aegidius van Egmont (or de Nijenberg), who visited it in 1757, and seems to have seen more important traces than are now visible. 'Not far from hence [Pyrghi] the sea forms a small bay and on the adjacent plain are the ruins of a temple, probably that of Apollo; for Strabo says that this structure stood in the south part of the island.' In this he is mistaken, the temple of Apollo mentioned by Strabo has been definitely located at Phaná. . . . 'This castle is called Emporium.'

inspiration implies a Minoan settlement must be considered improbable. Its isolated position on a cliff at the head of a little cove, which is still used as an anchorage in northerly gales, suggests rather that it was the burial-place of an important sea-captain who had died at sea or at anchor in the cove below. In any case, it is the only Minoan relic in the island, so far as is known at present.

Kato Phaná has been excavated and described by Kourouniotis and Miss Lamb, and there is nothing to add to these descriptions.

Another site of which I was told by Mr. George Kyriakódhis of Myrmíngi is at Anydhros, between the mountains Lykouri and Prinia in the territory of Vessá. All that is visible now is a mass of stones scattered over a wide area, but only two are upright. These are large rectangular piers, the larger measuring 20 inches by 16 inches by 41 inches high. There is also a piece of a very roughly worked circular column. The site is very remote, and as desolate as the name suggests, and I should not have paid any attention to it but for the fact that Mr. Kyriakódhis says he found several painted sherds there. From his description and drawings they seem certainly to have been ancient: he said he gave them to the γυμνασιάρχης in Chios, but the latter unfortunately has lost track of them. I found none there myself, or only two doubtful ones, but, as he says, they are easier to see when the ground is wet, and in the dust of summer they are very hard to discover. There is, however, in the Museum a clay object from the same site whose nature I am quite unable to determine. It is a large slab, quite thin, measuring 2 feet by 1 foot 10 inches; it has a raised rim round three sides and a ledge projecting on the back; on either side on the front are two narrow slips raised slightly above the rest of the surface. The ledge at the back suggests a tile, but it is surely too big. In any case, what is wanted is further sherds from the site or the rediscovery of those already found.

The north-western corner of the island is perhaps its most primitive part. The chief town is Volissós, which is, however, disappointing from the archaeological point of view. I searched unsuccessfully the west side of the castle hill for traces of the ' ancient temple of Apollo ' which Coronelli claims to have seen in 1696: it is possible that it has been covered by the houses which may have climbed higher up the slope since his time: on the other hand, Coronelli is not a very reliable witness. In Parpariá, about two and a half hours from Volissós, I was shown a collection of pots which clearly came from some tomb or tombs. They had been found by a man called Ioannes Hatzigeorgios in the field which is down the valley from the village. These are five cups of the usual fourth-century style, black-glazed so-called Gnathia ware: all are variations on the chalice type, with long, upturned handles (except one which has stirrup handles), and two have very heavy rims at the lip. There is also a hemispherical alabastron of the same fabric with decoration of incised lines. Later are a Roman ' tear bottle ' and the cover for a vase, ' policeman's-helmet ' shape with pierced openings, also two lamps of Roman period, one possibly crypto-Christian, as the decoration on the bottom contains a cross, and two small bronze late Roman coins of Gallienus (?) and Constantine. These finds should indicate a fairly extensive necropolis, or at least one used at widely differing dates, and it was unfortunate that, owing to misunderstanding and the hostility of the rest of the village (for which I was unable to find the reason), Hatzigeorgios refused to show me the place where he found them. However, he appears to preserve his finds carefully, and might be prevailed upon some time to show the place where he got them.

On a hilltop just outside the village, where I had been taken to admire a large, roughly rounded stone which the schoolmaster, with more confidence than justification, pronounced ancient, I saw some large clay fragments, one of which was certainly from the rim of a sarcophagus. At Haghios Isidoros, which is on the seashore at the foot of the valley belonging to Parpariá, there are traces of a large building. There are first some large worked blocks

of limestone, which were discovered when a well was dug, and which may have been foundation stones, and secondly, which confirms the former, some worked marble blocks built into the little church there and also into a small ruined building near it. These are of a very fine white marble, fine enough, I think, to be Parian, which they resemble very closely. They are carefully worked, but are in places a little weathered, and weathered in a way different from what would be accounted for by their present position. One strange thing is that they are usually very thin—about 3 or 4 inches—and some pieces almost suggest marble tiles for roofing, though they look rather too big for this. Possibly they were used as facing blocks, though I am not aware of any other instance of the technique in antiquity. In any case, they should indicate the existence of some ancient building here, and it is indeed a good site for one, as there is a good sheltered beach and a small area of cultivable land, a fair-sized stream and a valley running conveniently up into the foothills.

The village of Trýpes, which is the next after Parpariá, has a name which suggests caves, and, remembering Haghios Galas, I inquired for the caves, but was directed to only one called Kalogerotrypa, which is about twenty minutes' walk from the village. It is an extensive cave, but very much out of the way, nearly at the top of a high and steep spur of the mountains, and, in spite of turning over the soil very carefully over a wide area, I was unable to find any indication of early inhabitants.

The cave at Haghios Galas has been excavated by Miss Edith Eccles of the British School, and the results will be published by her.

The north-western corner of Chios, as has been noted, is the most primitive, and the villages are very small and scattered. The largest, Kouroúnia, which now produces the only good wine in Chios, though Chian wine was famous in antiquity, must always have been a fairly prosperous place, and this may explain some rather puzzling remains in the valley running down from it to the sea. At a place called Langádha on the left-hand side of the stream, about a quarter of an hour from the village, and at a place called Erinós on the slope of the hill on the right of the valley, about half an hour down and about a quarter of an hour from the sea, there are two large stone buildings, apparently forts, and there was another, now destroyed, almost opposite Erinós, on the left-hand side of the valley. The one at Erinós is the better preserved of the two extant ones, which are exactly similar in construction. We have there two walls at right angles jutting out from the hillside, so as to make a roughly triangular platform. They measure about 10 yards and are about 10 feet high. The interesting thing is their construction, which is roughly polygonal and resembles in effect the wall near Myrmíngi, but they have a greater regularity: whereas at Myrmíngi the construction is truly polygonal and the stones are of all shapes, fitted together like a jig-saw, here there is a definitely horizontal tendency, and most of the stones are roughly quadrilateral. They are very large, measuring on the average about a yard in each direction, though the upper 'courses' are of much smaller stones. At Langádha the same construction prevails, but the walls are not so high, having been partly destroyed, I imagine, for the sake of the material.

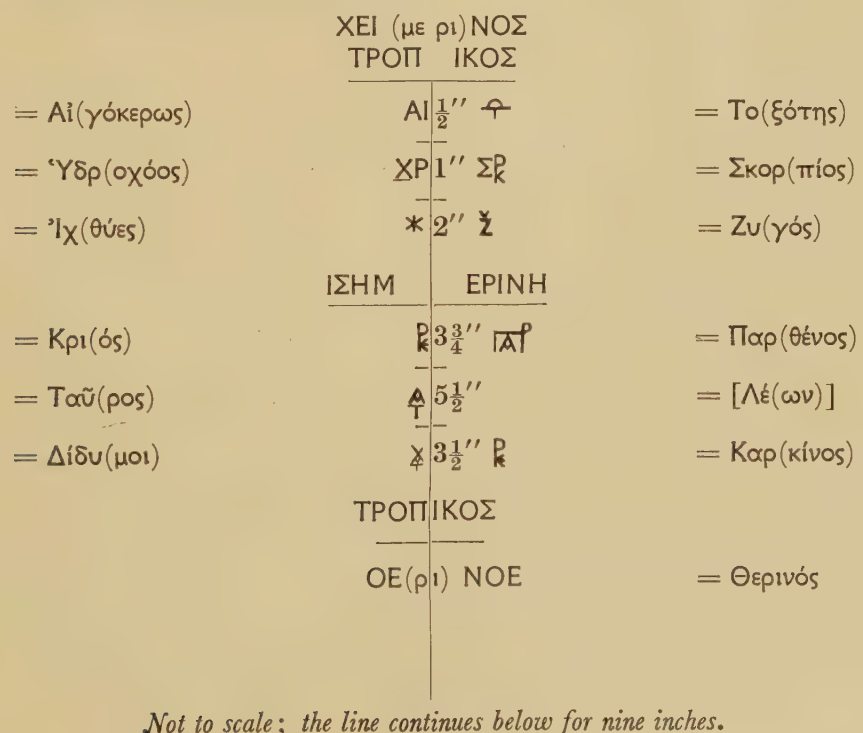
From their position relative to the sea and the village, as well as from their general appearance, I should imagine that these buildings had some military purpose, whether as forts or watch-towers. For the latter purpose Erinós is not very well placed, as the valley is rather narrow, and Langádha very badly placed; though the third, now destroyed, is in a better position, and could send warnings by beacon to the others. As forts they are admirably sited to command the approach to Kouroúnia, and Langádha commands a small valley which joins the main valley at that point. Their date is much harder to determine: they do not look Genoese, for there is nothing of that date in the island so roughly con-

structed, nor do they suggest either Roman or Greek methods of construction. It might be argued that they are so rough that they could have been built at any time by the inhabitants of Kouroúnia but, on the other hand, the great size of the stones does rather suggest a greater antiquity and a date closer to that of the wall at Myrmíngi. In default, however, of any finds in the nature of sherds, etc., which might give some indication of date, it is impossible to reach any definite conclusion on the matter.

I should mention that on the way from Kouroúnia to Aphrodhísia, on the north side of the hill above the latter, there is a stone called the γεγραμμένη πέτρα which bears the letter φ carved on it. From its appearance I should say it is more likely ancient than modern, but in the absence of any indication of its purpose or any other trace of civilisation I find it more cryptic than interesting.

I pay no particular attention to reports of discoveries at Patriárchis near Leptópoda: in any case the only thing reported was ' a large pithos and some big stones,' which have now entirely disappeared, nor could anything of interest be discovered on the site.

Haghiásmata lies on the coast at the foot of the valley running down from Kéramos in a fairly extensive plain. It is mentioned under its other name of Loutrá by Krumbacher, who saw there in 1884 remains of an ancient bath, for there are hot sulphur springs there which are resorted to by the peasants of the neighbouring villages. Any greater popularity is prevented by its inaccessibility. I did not see any traces of ancient baths: the only thing of interest was an inscribed stone which was built into the coping of a well which lies between two small churches, of which that on the south side has a fragment of Byzantine carving inside. The stone is a block of reddish marble of a kind common in Chios, and the inscribed surface measures 2 feet 11 inches all over, and broadens from 8 inches at the top to $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches at the lower end. At the two ends there appear to have been mouldings suggesting a cornice and base. It bears the following inscription:—



Not to scale; the line continues below for nine inches.

As will be seen, it marks the summer and winter solstices and the equinoxes, and has divisions for the signs of the zodiac, of which one, Λέων, is missing. It is in fact an analemma as described by Vitruvius Bk. IX c. 1–7 and by Ptolemy in his *Mathematics* (the Almagest) Bk. II p. 28 (Bale) ; compare p. 88 in the same edition, Theon's *Commentary*. It is not very clearly described; in c. 1 Vitruvius says: ' The analemma is an exact contrivance invented by observing the course of the sun and the lengthening of the shadow towards the winter by means of which through architectural calculations and the use of the compasses the action of the sun in the universe is discovered.' In Chapter 7 he gives the geometrical construction of the analemma, which is clear as far as the determination of the lines which mark the equinoxes and the solstices, but extremely obscure in the description of how to divide it up into months. The theoretic interest of the instrument is to demonstrate the course of the sun in the ecliptic; its practical use was to show in what sign the sun was on any given day and the exact date of the equinoxes and solstices. The length from the end of the line to the line marked ἰσημερινή is $21\frac{3}{4}$ inches, and from the data given by Vitruvius in c. 7 we can ascertain the height of the gnomon required. If at Rhodes (36° 26′ N.) the equinoctial shadow is five-sevenths of the length of the gnomon, and at Athens (37° 56′ N.) three-quarters, at Chios (38° 08′ N.) it will be just over three-quarters, in fact 0·7547; dividing this into $21\frac{3}{4}$ inches, we get 28·8195 inches as the height of the gnomon. These calculations are probably vitiated by the fact that we cannot be certain of the exact position of the gnomon, as the point where the line ends is rather battered and all trace of the socket has disappeared.

The date is rather hard to ascertain: the lettering is undistinguished and not very regular; alpha is in the shape Ⱥ, but apication is little more than a slight thickening of the ends of a few letters, though the epsilon has the later form Ɛ with the disjoined central stroke. On the whole the second century B.C. seems the best date to assume.

On the right of the valley leading down from Kampiá one notices immediately the chapel of Haghia Paraskeví on the top of an isolated high rock; beside it there are some remains of walls, too slight and scattered to date, but presumably from a watch-tower or fort to protect the valley, as does the fort below Kouroúnia. On the shore is the pleasant little church of Haghios Georgios Krasás, of which I had been told that not only had the mortar been mixed with wine instead of water, but also that large stones had been built into it from some older building. The latter point is certainly true: there are some very large blocks of the local grey limestone, one of which has a semi-circular groove in it, presumably caused by a door to which it served as doorstep. There are similar stones in a ruined building opposite, and it is easy to see where they came from, for a little above there are two levelled platforms with one or two blocks still there, and on the lower some large fragments of clay which may have come from larnakes, but may also have been bits of drain-pipes. The place is called Frangóspita, and there is no reason why the name may not represent a fact: at any rate, we have no means of dating the remains. Possibly the stone came from a Genoese fort: there is a good and fairly large fertile plain to defend and Kampiá is a rich village for the north of Chios; moreover, the beach is the best for a landing on the north coast west of Nagós, though in northerly weather a landing would be attended by considerable difficulty and danger. There was perhaps also a fort on the top of the hill on the west side of the beach, now crowned by the chapel of Hagioi Pantes: at any rate, there are some large worked blocks lying outside the east end of the chapel, and the position is admirable, for the high conical hill has very steep sides and, given adequate supplies, should have been quite impregnable. Over the lintel of the chapel is a block of pure white marble standing upright with the following inscription on it:—

ΗΡΜΗΧΡ

The lettering, which is as above, looks Byzantine. About twenty minutes below the village of Víki there is a large plateau-shaped outcrop of rock with, on top, the chapel of Haghioi Apóstoloi. Here I saw the foundations of a large building which I suspect is probably ancient. The stones are very large and well worked, and were held together with clamps, the holes for which are like those at Nagós and Phaná. Many of these have been dug up, and are scattered about on the top of the hill: such remains of walls as are still *in situ* are sketched in the following plan.

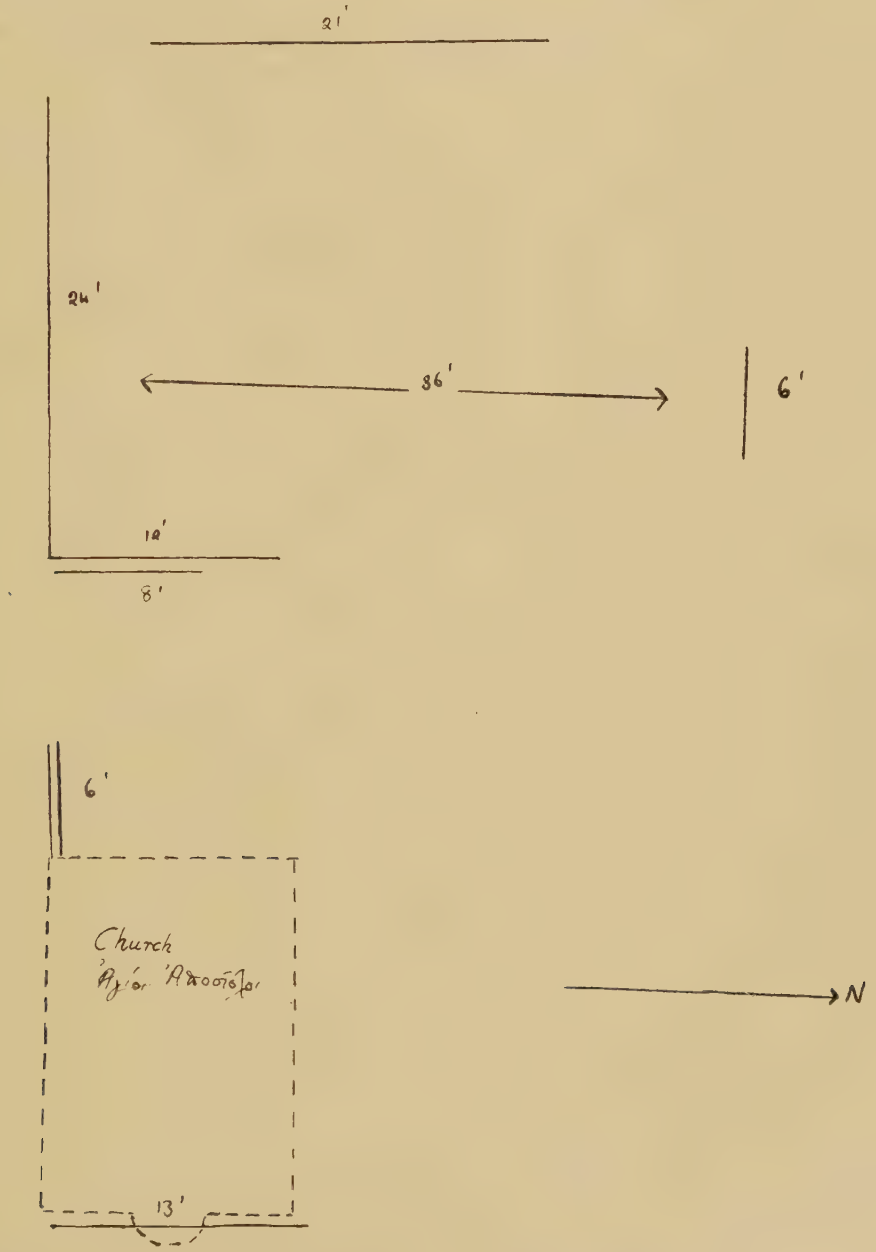


Fig. 2.—Sketch-Plan of Ancient Walls at Haghioi Apóstoloi near Víki.

I do not think this was another fort, but more probably a temple: I was told in the village that columns had been found there, though the stories were vague and perhaps untrustworthy. There were a number of sherds lying about, all plain, and some big pieces of larnakes, in particular the rims. Dr. Philip Argenti described to me a large piece of clay he had seen there on a previous visit, which sounds very like a piece of the lid of a clay larnax with the transverse strengthening bars which can be seen in the specimen from Gazapothíki. I was also told by the owner of the site, Mr. Nicolas Prelias, that he had uncovered a tomb at a spot 20 yards W.N.W. of the church door; there was nothing in it but bones, and it was formed by two square stones at head and feet and a large rectangular slab over them as a cover. This stone is still lying about, and is of the usual red limestone, but since the stone in the immediate neighbourhood is a grey limestone, it must have been brought from some distance. The site has a fine natural position and would, I think, well repay excavation.

The most interesting site on the north coast, however, is clearly Nagós. This lies on the west side of the bay between the spurs of the Pelinaeon and the steep hill of Seládha; it has a small cove which would give protection to vessels up to twenty or thirty tons and a good beach for hauling out flat-bottomed boats: in all, a perfectly practical harbour for ancient ships. There is also a fine spring here and a small plantation of orange trees and some olives; there are also some large forest trees in the little valley, so that it is both fertile and well watered. The temple which once stood here is first mentioned by Francesco Lupazolo in 1638 (London: B.M.: *Lansdowne MSS.* no. 792, fol. 62); he says, ' Five miles [from Kardhámyla] one comes across a large spring called Naos and here there was built a temple all of ash-coloured marble blocks (i.e. grey limestone) of inestimable beauty and magnitude which were all joined together with iron and lead but the peasants have broken them up in the search for these metals.' Thévenot in 1656 (*Voyage de Levant*, Chap. LXIII) gives an account which he claims to draw from a manuscript written by someone who had lived for several years in the island. He adds nothing to Lupazolo, except to give measurements for the blocks, eight ' palms ' by six (= 32 inches by 24 inches, presumably). Francesco Piacenza, who visited the island in 1688 (*L'Egeo Redivivo*), gives an account of the temple which appears to be directly translated from that of Thévenot, who again closely follows the order and arrangement of Lupazolo, so that either Thévenot's manuscript source was also the source, at an earlier date, of Lupazolo, who omitted the measurements, or else Thévenot used Lupazolo adding only the measurements from his manuscript source. Coronelli in 1696 merely repeats Piacenza. Tournefort in 1701 (Letter IX) is rather more summary: ' Pour ce qui est du temple on ne sçait pas à qui il étoit consacré; mais on n'y voit aucun reste de magnificence. Il étoit bâti de gros quartiers de pierre cendrée au fond d'une méchante cale dans une vallée étroite et desagreéable.' He says that the thirty marble steps over which Thévenot and Lupazolo said the stream descended have been introduced here by confusion with the fountain of Sclaviá, and certainly there is no trace of them to-day. Pococke in 1739 (Bk. I ch. I p. 7) also describes the place. ' [Ναγός] called without doubt from a temple near, some small ruins of which are now to be seen; from the best judgement I could make it was fifty-five feet long and thirty-five broad; the pieces of marble, which are very large, seem to have been polished and it appears as if there had been two steps all round: there are no signs either of pillars or pilasters.'

The remains visible to-day are considerably less extensive than when Pococke saw them in 1739, though the blocks of ' ash-coloured marble ' are still very much in evidence, as well as the dowel-holes robbed of their clamps by the ' vilani.' Many of them have been re-used in building a small church which probably did not exist in Pococke's time. I measured one

as a specimen, and found it was 3 feet 1 inch by 2 feet 9 inches by 1 foot $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches, which is greater than Piacenza's ' eight by six palms,' which I suppose to mean 32 inches by 24 inches, but there are other smaller blocks which will correspond well enough with these measurements. For stones *in situ* we have to look in particular at the west and east end of the chapel, though some of the blocks on the north side may also be *in situ*. At the west end in the little space before the church door can be seen a line of stones, presumably the foundations of a wall; at the east end, in the orchard belonging to Mr. Michael Dhóntas, there are apparently rather larger remains. I was assured by Mr. John Dhóntas, his son, that many of his orange trees are prevented from flourishing because at a depth of some 3 feet there is a solid stone floor which the roots are unable to pierce. As it is more than possible that the proprietor will not always be so resigned to this state of affairs and may try to dig up and remove these obstructions, an early investigation of the site is advisable. Two or three inscribed fragments have already been dug up in the orchard, and apparently are now lost; John Dhóntas could give a fair description of them (though he had not been able to read them), but had no idea where they were now. There was also supposed to be another inscribed stone on the bank of the stream of which I had been told in Kardhámyla, and John Dhóntas took me to see it: on arriving, however, he discovered that it had been washed down by the stream in spate (it was still very high), and after clambering about among the boulders in the stream he at last doubtfully identified it, but said the lettering was on the other side, which was under water. I was unable to lift it or see the under side at all, and I have grave doubts as to whether it does in fact bear an inscription.

That the temple was not built entirely of the grey limestone seems to be shown by the presence of some blocks of white marble, of which one, measuring 2 feet 6 inches by 1 foot 5 inches by $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches (broken at one end), is now lying on the beach. It has a groove cut along one side near the edge. Possibly only the foundation and stylobate (which is all Pococke saw and called it ' two steps ') were of grey limestone, and the rest of the building of white marble, though, of course, the marble block may have come from an altar or similar subsidiary feature.

I may mention, though with considerable incredulity, a story I was told in Kardhámyla about Nagós by Mr. George Vios. He said that some years ago a large statue of a woman holding a child was found there, the head being missing (or alternatively broken off by the villagers as idolatrous), and this was subsequently bought by an Englishman. I doubt if any of this is worthy of belief.

There is nothing of interest to report from Kardhámyla or its port of Mármaro. The inscription on the west wall of Haghia Paraskeví (Collitz and Bechtel, *SGDI.* 5658, fifth century στοιχηδόν) is now quite indecipherable, having been thickly coated with fresh whitewash.

APPENDIX A. Chian Inscription in the Museum in Chios

Grey marble, 3′ 4″ by 1′ 6″ by $10\frac{1}{2}$″. Height of letters, in first line $\frac{11}{16}$″, upper part $\frac{9}{16}$″ decreasing to $\frac{8}{16}$″ at bottom. The upper lines are rather more widely spaced than the lower. Lettering fine and regular, *c.* 300 B.C.

Said to come from the Kastro, now in the Museum.

Ἔδοξε τῶι δήμωι. | Ἐπειδὴ οἱ δικασταὶ οἵ τε Νάξιοι κα[ὶ] | Ἄνδριοι ἐπελθόντες ἐπὶ
τὸν δῆμ[ον] | ἠξίουν ἀποστέλλεσθαι διὰ τὸ χρόνο[ν] || πολὺν αὐτοῖς εἶναι τῆς ἀποδημίας,
δεδό | χθαι τῶι δήμωι ἐπαινέσαι μὲν τὰς πό|[λ]εις ἀμφοτέρας ὅτι φιλοτίμως καὶ οἱ|[κ]είως
ἀπέστειλαν ἡμῖν τὰ δικαστή | ρια, ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς δικαστὰς ὅτι ||[κ]αλῶς καὶ
δικαίως ἐδίκαζον τὰς [δίκας, | κ]αὶ στεφανῶσαι ἑκάτερον τῶ[ν δικαστη | ρ]ίων χρυσῶι
στεφάνωι ἀπὸ [δραχμῶν ἑκατὸν | Ἀ]λεξανδρείων· δεδόσθαι δ[ὲ προεδρίαν | κα]ὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ
ἐγγόνοις δη[μοσίοις || ἀγ]ῶσιν, καὶ εἰσπλουν [καὶ ἔκπλουν πολέμου | κα]ὶ εἰρήνης ἀσυλεὶ καὶ
ἀ[σπονδεὶ, καὶ δίκας | π]ροδίκους, καὶ ἀτέλ[ειαν ὧν ἂν εἰσάγωσιν ἢ] | ἐξάγωσιν· ἐπικτήσε[ις
δὲ γῆς καὶ οἰκίας] | εἶναι ἐὰν βούλωντα[ι· καὶ ἵνα πᾶσι φανερὸς] || ᾖι ὁ δῆμος ὅτι ἐπίσ[ταται
χάριτας ἀποδι | δ]όναι τοῖς δικαίοις [ἀνδράσιν ἀξίας, ἀνει] | πεῖν τὸν κήρυκα νομ[ίμως
τόδε τὸ ψήφι] | σμα· ὁ δ[ῆμ]ος ὁ Χίων [ἐτίμησε τοὺς δι | κ]αστὰς τούς τε Ναξ[ίους καὶ
Ἀνδρίους δικαι] || οσύνης ἕνεκα τῆς ἐν [ταῖς δίκαις χρυσῶι] | στ[ε]φάνωι ἀφ' ἑκατὸν
[δραχμῶν ἕκαστον καὶ | πρ]οξενίαι καὶ πολιτεία[ι καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐγ | γό]νους ἐπιμεληθῆναι
δ[ὲ τοῦδε τοῦ κηρύγμα] | τος Μεγαρέα τὸν ἀγωνοθ[έτην καὶ τοὺς] || πρυτάνεις τοὺς
ἐνεστῶτας, [καὶ γραψάν] | των εἰς τὴν στήλην τὴν προξ[ενικὴν τήν] | τε πόλιν ἑκατέρων
καὶ τὰ ὀνόμ[ατα πατρό | θε]ν· δοῦναι δὲ τοὺς ταμίας ἑκα[τέρωι τῶν | δι]καστηρίων τὸ εἰς
τὸν στέφανο[ν ἀνάλωμα, || δ]οῦναι δὲ καὶ εἰς κομιδὴν ἑκά[στωι τῶν | δι]καστῶν δραχμὰς
πεντήκον[τα, καὶ τοὺς | ἐξετα]στὰς μετὰ τῶμ πολεμάρ[χων ἐπι | μεληθ]ῆναι ὅπως ἐπὶ
τριήρους ἐ[πανέλθω | σιν οἱ δι]καταί· ὅπως δὲ καὶ ἀείμνη[στος ἦ || τῶν ἀν] δρῶν δικαιότης
ἦι καὶ οἱ λ[οιποὶ ἀεὶ | καλὰ π]ράττωσι πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, [τοὺς πρυ | τάνει]ς ἀναγράψαντας
εἰς στήλ[ην λιθί | νην τό]δε τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ τὰ ὀνόματ[α τῶν ἀν | δρῶν π]ατρόθεν καὶ ἐξ
ἧς πόλεως [ἑκάτερον || τῶν δι]καστηρίων ἐστίν, στῆσαι ἐς τὸ ἱε[ρον· | *v. v.* τὸ δὲ ἀ]νάλωμα
τὸ εἰς τὴν στήλην | δοῦναι τοὺς ταμίας.

On the side :

Ἐκ Νάξο[υ] | Ἐπιγενίδης Ἡγησιμάχου, || Σώσιλος Ἱππολύτου, | Ξενό[φ]αντος [Ἀ]ρχέ-
λεω, | Εὐχάρης Εὐστράτου, | Σώπολις Σωσίου. | *vac* | Ἐξ Ἄνδρου || Πυθόδωρος Πυθίππου, |
Μυρτίας Ἰδνάδου, | Κλεόδωρος Κλευνίκο[υ], | Θεογένης Ἀρχαγορίδο[υ], | Θεότιμος Ῥίκωνος.

APPENDIX B

Some remains of Chian art in Venice.

It has been suggested to me by Dr. Philip Argenti that the columns in the Piazzetta in Venice, and the famous ' Horses of St. Mark ' in the same place, came originally from Chios. The story of the columns is to be found in the Venetian historians Sanuto and Andrea Dandolo. Sanuto (ap. Muratori *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* Tom. XXII pars. iv p. 501E) mentions, under the year 1172 and the Doge Vitale Michieli, the bringing of these columns from Constantinople and later their erection in the Piazzetta. Dandolo (*ib.* Tom. XII Liber X cap. 1) also says they came from Constantinople and that they were erected by an ingenious method in 1181 or 1184. There had originally been three, but one had fallen into the canal. The difficulty is that Michieli had not been to Constantinople or near it, but he had been to Chios, in fact he spent the winter of 1171 there, and the army suffered severely from the plague. We also know that he carried off from Chios and from the opposite coast many relics, including those of St. Isidore, the patron saint of Chios. It seems more likely then that the columns were brought from there.

For the horses of St. Mark the evidence is more direct. These were certainly brought to Venice from Constantinople after the Latin sack of the city in 1204, but no one seems to have inquired whether they were made there or brought thither from elsewhere. In Codinus, however (p. 53 line 15 of Lambecius' edition), we have the definite statement that they were brought from Chios in the reign of Theodosius II (408–450).[1] Codinus is our best authority on the monuments of Constantinople; though he himself lived in the fifteenth century, the second part, περὶ στηλῶν καὶ θεαμάτων, which is the source of the above reference, is taken almost word for word from an ancient anonymous work, παραστάσεις σύντομοι χρονικαί (published in the same volume by Lambecius), which quotes Theodorus Lector, Papias, Eusebius, Socrates, Marcellus Lector, and several others, and is two or three hundred years older than Codinus.

On the other hand, Kluge, the greatest modern authority on ancient bronzes, says (*Die Antike Grossbronzen*, vol. II pp. 78–80) that they are Roman work of the Augustan period. ' Die schwere Statur mit dem hängenden Bauch und der wenig gegliederten Brust ist durchaus ungriechisch. Die Modellierung steht in ganzen der der Balbus-pferde besonders nahe.' However, he points out that the treatment of the folds of skin at the base of the neck ' denen des grossen, wohl späthellenistischen Pferdekopf in Neapel besonders nahe stehen,' and the treatment of the mane is also peculiar, ' wie wir das ähnlich auch in Hellenismus finden,' using as an example of ' Hellenismus ' once more the bronze in Naples. Finally he treats of the attitude of the group, which he assumes, clearly rightly, to have belonged to a quadriga in which the two horses in the middle have their heads turned inward and the two outer ones have them turned outwards. Of the scheme he says it is ' eine althergebrachte griechische,' but since he is convinced of the Roman origin of the group, he calls it an example of ' recht Augusteisch Klassizität.' Perhaps Kluge was influenced by the assumption he makes on page 78—for which there is no evidence—that the horses were brought to Constantinople from Rome, for the parallels to be drawn with the horse in the famous equestrian statue of Balbus the Elder from Pompeii are not, I think, conclusive.

Parallels for the ' heavy stature ' and ' hanging belly ' are given by Schlözer, *Röm. Mitt.* 1913 pp. 129 sqq.; he quotes Thiersch, *Reisen in Italien* I p. 136: ' Die venezianischen Rosse sind von einer sehr schweren und starken thrakischen Rasse mit dicken Häuptern und breite Rücken. Das makedonisch-thrakische Ross auf den Münzen des Konigs Amyntas hat Aehnlichkeit mit ihnen,' and refers also to tetradrachms of Philip II. Schlözer also sees a parallel in the horses of the quadriga of the Mausoleum and, farther east, in coins of Eucratides of Bactria (*B.M. Cat. of Indian Coins*, pl V, 6–9) and in Sassanian reliefs (cf. Tarn, *Hellenistic Naval and Military Development*, pp. 78 sqq.). At any rate Kluge's ' durchaus ungriechisch ' is clearly an exaggeration. On the whole, then, I see no reason to doubt Codinus' statement that the horses came from Chios; it is most unlikely to be a pure invention, and if in fact they came from Rome or Athens or some better-known artistic centre, it is improbable that Chios would have supplanted it in the tradition.

D. W. S. Hunt

[1] οἱ δὲ τέσσαρες κεχρυσωμένοι ἵπποι, οἱ ὕπερθεν τῶν καγκέλλων ὁρώμενοι, ἐκ τῆς Χίου ἤξασιν ἐπὶ Θεοδοσίου τοῦ μικροῦ. Codinus, *loc. cit.*

APPENDIX C. Sailing Directions for the Island of Chios

including the Islands Oenussae and Psara; with Remarks on Anchorages and other Aspects of the Coast of Chios and the above Islands.

Reference: British Admiralty Charts, 2836b, 1645; *Mediterranean Pilot*,[1] Vol. IV, pp. 276–288; Map published for the Koraës Society (Χιακὴ Ἀδελφότης Ἀττικοβοιωτίας 'ὁ Κοραῆς') by the Greek War Office; Map of Chios G.S.G.S. 1:50,000, three sheets, July 1943.

These remarks are intended as a supplement to the 'Sailing Directions' given in the *Mediterranean Pilot*, and are written from the point of view of the small sailing-boat, in order to be as relevant as possible also to the nautical conditions of antiquity. The nautical aspect is one of the most important in considering the ancient history of Greece, and in particular of the islands, and one cannot have a proper appreciation of the island of Chios unless one also considers it from the side of the sea.

The east coast of Chios is the most important and accessible, and the harbour of Chios town is the main harbour of the island. It is now entirely artificial, but was originally the mouth of the river Parthenis, which enters the sea at present about three-quarters of a mile to the southward. The harbour is described in the *Mediterranean Pilot*, p. 280 (and add many corrections in *Supplement* No. 6). Small boats usually lie alongside the north mole, though for a short stay the west mole is often used.

The navigation of Chios strait, according to the *Pilot*, is, with ordinary attention, easy: this is true for steamships, but for sailing-vessels at the time of the *meltem* wind considerable difficulty may be experienced. The normal set of the current is to the southward, and it is fairly weak, but it is strongly influenced by the wind, so that when beating to windward in the straits one has also the disadvantage of a contrary current of some two or three knots. The *Pilot*, in fact, does not exaggerate in the least when it says 'With fresh north or north-easterly winds no ordinary sailing vessel can work to windward,' and these conditions are by no means uncommon in the straits. In these circumstances the mariner must wait for the wind to blow from the southward, when he will have both a favouring wind and a strong favouring current. This leads to the question of anchorages in which to wait until the wind changes; and there are fortunately several.

Venétiko. This is the name given to the small cove marked on the Koraës Society's map as Βρουλίδια. It is immediately to the west of Cape Mástiko (Οὐρά on the map), and is very badly indicated on the chart: there are, in fact, two small coves immediately to the west of the cape, but the westernmost one is not so good as a refuge. The best anchorage is in six fathoms on a line between a black detached rock on the west side and a prominent white rock on the east side. The holding is good. There is practically no beach, and the way up the cliff is steep. At the top of the cliff here is the tomb already described above. This anchorage is frequently used in strong northerly winds, from which it affords a perfect shelter, but is suitable only for fairly small craft.

Emporiós. This again is a very small harbour with an entrance about 30 yards across, but it gives very good shelter. It lies in the south-west corner of Kalamotí bay between two hills, of which the northerly one, called on the chart C. Kamari, is rather over 160 metres high, of a regular conical shape, and has a chapel on the summit. Vessels usually anchor just inside the mouth of the harbour, passing a warp to one of the detached blocks on the north side. The depth here is 6 or 8 fathoms, and the holding is good. There is a level beach, a fine fertile

[1] Corrections in *Mediterranean Pilot*, p. 277, line 2 read: 'The population of the island in 1927 was 75,680.' Line 8 for 'khaki' read 'rhaki.' Line 16 for 'Kalamuti' read 'Kalamotí.'

plain, and easy communication with the interior, and, as I remarked above, one can feel certain that this harbour was used in antiquity.

Kalamotí. Whatever the weather, it is usually possible for a vessel to work as far north as Kalamotí, and it is only in exceptional circumstances that Emporiós need be used as a refuge. Vessels can anchor in many places in the roadstead, but usually bring up opposite the few houses of Kome, a little to the east of the end of the road from Kalamotí, in a depth of 2 or 3 fathoms, while larger vessels find good anchorage farther out from the beach in 14 to 16 fathoms. There is a good beach here for hauling out, and the place must always have been a place of refuge for ships since the navigation of these waters began, as it marks the most northerly point which can be reached against strong unfavourable winds.

Vessels which are caught by the wind after passing Cape Nénita bring up in *Megálo Bay* (Ὅρμος Μέγα Λιμιώνα, also known as στὸ Ἐργαστήριον). The best place for large vessels is given by the anchor marked on the chart, in a position between the lighthouse on Paspargo bearing 090° and the Genoese watch tower on the coast to the west. The depth here is 8 to 10 fathoms: small vessels can anchor in comfort farther inshore on the same line, or a little to the north, with the monastery of Haghios Minas bearing about 320°.

Between Katomeri Point (Cape Ποῦντα) and Cape Haghia Helene is the bay of *Karpha*, which is not recommended as an anchorage. In antiquity no doubt a boat could be run ashore and hauled out there in perfect safety, but it is not a place to lie at anchor in any heavy weather.

North of Cape Haghia Helene there is a large shelf which extends offshore for about $4\frac{1}{2}$ cables, or 900 yards, and has nowhere, so far as I could ascertain, a greater depth than 1 fathom, and usually one of about 4 feet. This I have shown reason to believe the ancient site of Leuconium.

North of the harbour of Chios the next point of interest is the complex of coves called by the Admiralty charts *Port Kolokíthia* (cf. Chart No. 2836b for plan), though the name seems to be unknown in the island. The most southerly is of no importance, and apparently never used; the next, Pantoukeios, affords a reasonable shelter, and is often used by *caiques* which anchor right at the head of the harbour, and on the north side in a depth of 4 fathoms. There are a few houses here, down below the road from Chios to Kardhámyla, but it is not as important as Langáda, which is at the head of the next branch of the harbour. The bay here is much narrower than the other two mentioned and runs well inland: it is very well sheltered and the holding ground is excellent (10 fathoms, 3 alongside quay). It is used by a great number of *caiques*, and there is constant communication between there and Egnusa.

In making this harbour or *Port Delphini* to the north of it vessels frequently pass between the island of Haghios Stéphanos and the mainland, but this should be done with caution with northerly or north-easterly winds, as they are liable to come fluky and gusty in this position. Delphini is mentioned by Thucydides (VIII 38.2 and 40.3) as a good harbour, though the inlet which has preserved that name is not now held in such good repute as is Langada. It would certainly be difficult to get out of it in case of a south wind. The anchorage recommended is right at the head of the harbour, in 4 fathoms, where a warp can be passed to a stone jetty, and another from the stern to a small island. The harbour is little visited, and there are only a few houses on shore; there are no remains of antiquity visible, in spite of its interesting history, though there are numerous stories of objects being found there, which on investigation turned out to be groundless.

The coast north from Delphíni is undistinguished. There are three small bays marked on the map—Ὅρμοι Καμινιῶν, Βρουλιδιῶν, and Λιμνιοῦ—the last of which has a beach suitable for ancient ships, but the coast is mainly very rocky and high, and only at Limni is

there any easy access inland. This would form the most natural final stage for a crossing of the straits on rafts or other primitive means by people who preferred to use the Oenussae as stepping-stone. The next cove north is called rather optimistically Ὅρμος Ῥοδοσιοῦ, for I cannot imagine any circumstances in which anyone would anchor there.

The other important anchorages in this part of the Straits are on the *Oenussae Islands* (also called the Spalmatori islands and today Αἰγνοῦσες). The main harbour is called Mandráki, and is below the town of Egnusa, which is a large and prosperous place of 5000 or 6000 inhabitants. It is formed by three small islets which extend in a curve from a point west of the town so as to form a kind of natural breakwater in front of the landing-stage. There are narrow and shallow channels between the islets and between the westernmost and the main islands, but the entrance is from the east. There is a landing-stage at which the mail-boat ties up, but the best anchorage is close in to the largest of the three islets, which is called Mandráki, and about at its centre. This berth is protected both from north and south. There is a creek farther east, between the hill of Καλαμιάρις and Μάρμαρα, which can be used by small boats, it has a depth of 3 fathoms at its head. The anchorages for large vessels are farther east, between the main island and Pasha island, the second largest of the group; they are known as Port Boghazi and Port Pasha (cf. *Mediterranean Pilot*, pp. 282–3 and plans of the port on Chart no. 1568).

The Oenussae are mentioned by Herodotus I, 165, where the Phocaeans, having deserted their own city rather than be subject to the Persians, wished to buy the islands from the Chians, but were refused for fear lest they might prove too formidable competititors to Chios. This shows that the Phocaeans depended entirely on trade for their livelihood, or were prepared to do so, for the islands cannot support any large population by their own produce, though, thanks to their flourishing mercantile marine, the inhabitants are almost proverbial for their wealth in Chios to-day.

The north coast of Chios is very barren of harbours, though we shall see that there are several places which were available in antiquity, where a flat beach on which boats could be hauled out was often preferred to a deep-water anchorage. The first place where small *caiques* can anchor nowadays does not look a good place, but I was assured it could be used in perfect safety: it is in the narrow passage, about 30 yards wide, between the islet of Strovíli and the extreme north-east corner of Chios: one lies to two cables, to the islet and to the shore, and a position can be chosen which is sheltered either from northerly or southerly winds. There is a white flashing light on Strovíli.

Port Parapanta is a long inlet open to the northward, with depths of from 10 to 14 fathoms in it. It is rarely used, and does not lead anywhere. *Mármaro*, the next inlet westward, is the main harbour of the north coast, having at its head the town of Mármaro, which is the port of Kardhámyla. It has depths of 3 to 14 fathoms, but the holding is very bad, and one always lets go prepared to drag anchor for a greater or less distance. The *Pilot*, after recounting the experience of H.M.S. *Fawn* in 1879, concludes that ' as a shelter it is well to avoid it altogether,' since in northerly winds it is quite exposed, and in southerly the winds come suddenly and with great force down the valley from Kardhámyla. It is nevertheless used extensively by *caiques*, and not only in summer: a steamer calls once a week. For small vessels a safe anchorage can be found between the island of Saracenópetra and the cape Margarítes which separates Mármaro from Parapánta, in a depth of 7 fathoms. There is now a red flashing light on Saracenópetra.

At *Nagos*, to the west of Fort Mármaro, a small vessel can take shelter under a rocky cape which runs out a small distance to the eastward. There is a good beach here, and it seems

probable that this was frequently used in antiquity, as was probably the beach farther south at the head of the bay, called Βληκάδα. The small inlet north of this called Ὅρμος Λαπάθου, is, I understand, never used, nor is there a good beach there. For the rest, the north coast of the island is very steep and abrupt, and in the prevailing northerly or north-easterly wind is usually given a wide berth; not only is it a very dangerous lee shore in the event of a gale springing up (especially as there is then an onshore set of the current), but it is also liable to the so-called ' white squalls ' which are caused by the wind striking high land to leeward and from there striking the water at an angle, ' where they churn up the sea and cut off the top of the waves into a spray which gives a peculiar appearance that once seen cannot be mistaken ' (*Mediterranean Pilot*, p. 7). However, for vessels which are prepared to beach themselves, there are two places where this is possible, though in northerly winds it must always have been difficult and dangerous: these are *Haghios Georgios Krasás* and *Haghiásmata.* Although from an examination of the chart one would say that the northern part of Chios was inaccessible from the sea, the fact that the valleys leading down to the coast were once fortified shows that the inhabitants apparently had good reason to fear a landing.

The island of *Psará* lies 10 miles west of the north-west extremity of Chios. The population is very small, and most of the inhabitants spend the greater part of their lives away from home, serving in the mercantile marine of all nations. The harbour is small and shallow (2 to 2½ fathoms), and is used only by *caiques*, which should anchor for preference at the entrance in 3 fathoms with a warp to the mole: there is an anchorage for large vessels in the bay of Chorálo, to the east of the town. Navigation is rendered difficult by strong currents: to the west of the island the current usually runs to the northward, but on the north coast it sets strongly on shore, so that in light winds it must be given a wide berth. On the south coast from the lighthouse on the south-east corner to the harbour there is a strong east-going current which can be avoided only by standing well out.

The only recognised anchorage on the west coast of Chios north of Volissós is under Cape Melaniós, but vessels should not get too far in, as the water is shallow (1 to 2 fathoms, extending some way out). I have made a boat-landing at Haghia Markella, and Haghios Isídoros below Parpariá should be possible for small boats to shelter in, though it is very small and scarcely protected from the swell, which is quite considerable with northerly weather. Both, however, have admirable beaches, and were probably used in antiquity. The Amane mountains in the region are notorious for squalls in south-easterly winds, and squalls are always liable over them, so that they are usually given a wide berth by sailing vessels.

Volissós is the main harbour on the west coast, and the roadstead is the only anchorage for large vessels on that coast. The harbour is some little way below the town, and is formed by a reef and a small islet to the west and a mole on the east. For a short stay, anchor 20 yards west of the head of the mole with a warp to it.

The north corner of the bay, above which stands *Sideroúnta*, is a good place to bring up for a visit to the latter: the holding is good and the anchorage sheltered. The beach below Sideroúnta may have contributed to the importance of the village, which has a very strong natural position. There are several coves southward from this which will provide shelter, but this part of the island is very little inhabited, and must always have presented a most inhospitable aspect. The most important harbours are *Aluntha* (Ἐλήντα), *Lithí*, and *Pasha Limáni*, near Mestá. These are used by a few fishermen in open boats, especially Lithí. Pasha Limáni is a perfect harbour of shelter, being entirely landlocked in its inner part, and a road is now being built from it to Mesta, so that in the event of the straits being closed to navigation it should serve as an alternative to the port of Chios. At present it is scarcely used at all. There

is an anchorage for vessels up to 20 tons or so under the Aspro islands, about 1½ miles north-east of Pasha Limáni.

The south-west coast of Chios 'is bold and indented with several small bays,' but the *Pilot* does not consider any of them as anchorages. For small vessels, however, they are all possible as shelter from northerly winds. The bays of *Avlónia* and *Angelíai* are rather open and not very well sheltered from the north; Kato Phaná and Karýnta are better. The former is described by Strabo as λιμὴν βαθύς, and Kourouniotis has a photograph of a destroyer of the Greek Navy lying in it. It is marked as a port on the Chart, with a depth of 5 fathoms close in at the head, and was certainly much used in antiquity, especially by visitors to the temple there.

Karýnta is not so much thought of locally. The tiny creek of Avlonia farther east provides better shelter for a small boat, and has been used by Mr. George Chorémis for access to his property at Dhótia: perhaps its connection with Dhótia is still more ancient and goes back to the time of the early settlements there, the remains of which I have noticed above (p. 38).

D. W. S. Hunt.

EXCAVATIONS IN CYPRUS, 1913

INTRODUCTION

The remote date of the researches here described needs a word of explanation and apology.

In the latter part of the year 1913 the Committee of the Cyprus Museum received a Government grant for the purpose of exploratory work on sites selected to illustrate principal periods and aspects of antiquity, and to provide the basis for estimates of the value and the cost of operations on a larger scale. I accepted the invitation of the Committee to supervise this project, and to give to my former pupil at Oxford, Mr. Menelaos Markides, then Keeper of the Cyprus Museum, the personal introduction to field work which might enable him to continue such excavations, on a modest scale, on his own responsibility. As there was some prospect of finding human remains, I obtained from the British Association for the Advancement of Science a small grant to meet the expenses of another friend and pupil, the late Leonard H. D. Buxton of Exeter College, Oxford, who held the Oxford Diploma in Anthropology, and had been engaged in anthropometric work in the excavations of Sir Henry Wellcome at Jebel Moya in the Sudan. My own stay in Cyprus was limited by other engagements to the three months October, November, December 1913, but Mr. Buxton was fortunately able to stay longer in Cyprus and assist Mr. Markides in installing our finds in the Cyprus Museum at Nicosia.

Three different sites had been suggested to the Cyprus Museum Committee as suitable for excavation with the objectives and on the scale proposed: (1) the Bronze Age cemetery of Enkomi near Salamis and Famagusta, where the British Museum had found rich Cypro-Mycenaean tombs in 1896, with the adjacent 'Tomb of Saint Catharine', of which both the age and the purpose were disputed; (2) the ruinous town-site at Lapithos on the north coast west of Kerynia, whence a splendid hoard of Byzantine silver vessels had been acquired by the Metropolitan Museum of New York and an earlier treasure of jewellery by the Cyprus Museum; and (3) the Bamboula Hill at Larnaca, where Sargon's conquest-stela, now in Berlin, was found in 1845, and other monuments in 1879, including Phoenician sculpture and inscriptions, when part of the hill was dug away to fill up the ancient harbour. But though all three sites were duly examined, the results were only large enough to show what *might* be won at a quite disproportionate cost, and with great risk of disappointment.

In archaeology, however, as in most other sciences, 'it is the easiest thing in the world to find what you are not looking for'. A few weeks before our own work began, chance finds, like those which had revealed Enkomi in 1895, exposed a sanctuary site at Lefkóniko in the Mesariá plain, which would inevitably be despoiled before the next ploughing, if it were not examined and cleared at once. And then, at the moment when—Enkomi having failed us—we were at a dead-end at Lapithos also, another chance discovery only a mile or two away gave us an untouched and very interesting cemetery of the early middle of the Bronze Age.

These five sites, then, were our eventual programme, and are described here in the order in which they were undertaken.

Some progress had already been made in preparing the results of our work for publication, when war broke out in August 1914. Mr. Buxton offered himself at once for war service; and I, too, left Oxford on duty in July 1915, having only published, in *Archaeologia* LXVI (1914), our report on the so-called 'Tomb of Saint Catharine' at Salamis, a large

barrel-vaulted chamber-tomb with subterranean entrance and side chamber, of long-disputed, but, as we discovered, of certainly classical date. But under war conditions it was difficult to maintain correspondence with Mr. Markides on the many minor questions that emerged in the preparation of our reports. By the end of the war, I found myself involved in other duties which precluded another visit to Cyprus; and meanwhile the ill-health of Mr. Markides prevented him from completing the revision of our material. All that he was able to send to me was a very detailed description of the long series of sculpture from Lefkóniko, of which only a summary is published here. Meanwhile, also, the great expedition to Cyprus, organised by H.R.H. The Crown Prince of Sweden, and led by Dr. Einar Gjerstad, besides exploring many other sites most fruitfully, had followed in our tracks at Enkomi and at Lapithos, and had far out-matched our results. Other excavators, French and American, followed; and Dr. P. Dikaios, F.S.A., the successor of Mr. Markides as Keeper of the Cyprus Museum, revolutionised the perspective of the Copper Age of Cyprus by his discoveries at Erimi and Khirokitia (*Archaeologia* LXXXVIII).

Nevertheless, in the intervals of another spell of war-duty, I have found it possible to complete at all events a summary account of the operations of 1913, omitting much detail of temporary and technical interest, and emphasising the points in which those efforts seem to me now to have contributed something of permanent value to the history and antiquities of Cyprus.

I take this opportunity of expressing belated thanks to all who contributed to make these researches possible: to the late Sir Hamilton Goold Adams, K.C.M.G., High Commissioner of Cyprus in 1913, for his constant interest and encouragement, and to Lady Goold Adams for her hospitality; to members of H.M. Services in Cyprus, and of the Museum Committee, for help and advice of many kinds; to the Keeper of the Cyprus Museum, Mr. Markides, for never-failing provision for material needs, and to Mr. Buxton for his skill and enthusiasm; to many Cypriote friends, wherever we worked; and last but not least to those sturdy, genial colleagues, the workmen, often in much discomfort and discouragement—for weather was bad, and the finds they most appreciated were rare. What never failed them, or us, was their common-sense, endurance, and goodwill.

A SANCTUARY SITE AT LEFKÓNIKO

WITH PLATES II–21

The village of Lefkóniko lies on the north side of the Mesariá plain, on the main or 'upper' road from Nicosía (21 miles) to Tríkomo (9 miles) for the Karpass promontory. Cross-roads connect Lefkóniko northwards by Platáni (5 miles) with Akanthoú on the north coast; south-westward with Yénagra (3½ miles) on the alternative 'old' or 'lower' road from Nicosía to Tríkomo; southwards, through the double village Peristeróna–Piyí, with Prastió (6 miles) on the north bank of the main channel of the Pidiás river. The Gephýria stream, descending from the North Range, crosses the Tríkomo road 2 miles east of Lefkóniko, and skirts the limestone plateau which was the home-territory of ancient Salamis swerving south-east beyond Peristeróna–Piyí and joining a loop of the main river at Styllos, 4 miles east of Prastió, and about half-way to the sea. A smaller water-course called Krýospotamós ('cold river') which comes down from the foothills about Platáni, just west of the head-waters of the Gephýria, skirts the east side of Lefkóniko village and crosses the road thence to Peristeróna–Piyi about 100 yards beyond its southernmost houses. Then, instead

of joining the Gephýria, it loses itself in the fields; for it is usually dry. The reason for this change of course is that while the Gephýria lies between the edge of the plateau and the small group of outlier hills, on the southern spurs of which lie Peristeróna and Piyí, the Krýos-potamós flows west of these, in a very shallow basin south of Lefkóniko, and its flood waters eventually join the Gephýria under the name of Plákos-potamós below Marátha village. This little drainage system has to be noted here, because its flood-waters seem to be partly responsible for the desertion and devastation of the Lefkóniko sanctuary site.

About a mile south of the village, and half a mile from the bridge which carries the road across the Krýos-potamós, stands a chapel, Agia Zóni—not marked in Kitchener's survey (1882)—the only landmark of an ancient settlement which occupied much of this open ground, and probably marked the junction of the ancient road inland from Salamis with that from Tríkomo and the Karpass. It is the predecessor of mediæval and modern Lefkóniko.

Early in the year 1913, the proprietor of one of the large unfenced fields found, about 150 metres east of the chapel, and 310° north-west from the bridge on the road, several fragments of masonry and large statues, and a bronze object which some described as a lamp, others as some kind of figure; this has unfortunately disappeared. A life-size male figure, of the end of the sixth century B.C., was acquired by the Cyprus Museum, and the head of this figure was found during our excavation (Pl. 13, 3). It seemed urgent to examine this new site, and anticipate further discoveries; for it was clear that accident had revealed a fresh example of those statue-crowded sanctuaries which had already been excavated at Vóni, Achna, Idálion, and Tamassos and at General di Cesnola's chief hunting-grounds, Phárangas and ' Golgoi ' near Athiénou: see *Cyprus Museum Catalogue* pp. 1–12.

Accordingly, on October 1, 1913, trenches were opened to extend the two recent search-pits, which still lay half overgrown and surrounded by chips of stone. As there seemed to be no reason to expect to find buildings worth preserving as a public monument, the general idea was to open a wide trench from north to south, as far as might be necessary, and then to clear the site outwards to east and west from this centre-line, replacing the earth behind us in the original trench. The earth first excavated was piled in two dumps, to north-east and south-west, so as to be at hand for the eventual filling in, when the limits of the site were reached. On the whole, this plan worked well: a trial trench eastward showed that nothing of importance lay in that direction, and the late boundary wall, which was eventually reached to the west, lay nearly parallel with our base-line trench. Only to south-eastward was it necessary to follow the broken foundations of a Graeco-Roman building a few metres further afield.

On the surface of the site there was nothing but the recent search-pits to indicate ancient remains; but in the southern part of the area worked blocks were found immediately below the stubble;—a late column-drum, the pediment of a poor *stele*, some late mouldings (Pl. 11, 2); a small seated figure of Zeus Ammon (Pl. 17), such as occurs on other sites in Cyprus, and in tombs; four life-size heads—one of fifth-century style—and the body of a life-size Roman statue (Pl. 11, 1). This statue was so close to the surface that it had been repeatedly grazed by the plough. All these objects were obviously out of place, and had been left by former stone-hunters. Throughout the surface soil were fragments of smaller statues, in the same local limestone.

The whole site had evidently been devastated, and it was only here and there that ancient floor-levels could be traced with any confidence. There was late masonry still in place at a metre or less from the surface, and undisturbed gravel or water-washed sand at 1·50 m. As

the fragments already found ranged over the whole series of Cypriote sculpture from the seventh century B.C. to the third or fourth century A.D., there was no reason to expect any sequence of superposed layers; and in fact some of the deepest foundations were among the latest in date, cutting through and disturbing earlier contents of the shrine. Most of these were isolated rectangular blocks and slabs, fairly well-dressed, lying either on the undisturbed sand, or supported by a thin layer of soil, or, in some places, of rubble cement. They were roughly oriented north-south, and were least disturbed in the southern half of the excavated area. They appeared to be bases for late statues like that which had already been found, or for *stelae* or other monuments of moderate size.

With these isolated blocks were associated three composite structures:—

(1) An oblong pedestal (D) 2·70 m. from east to west and 2·10 m. from north to south, destroyed except its rubble footing and one course of squared masonry. It was hollow within, and partly covered by a plaster floor: on its north face one large slab of a pavement was in place, and on this stood one of the smaller base-blocks. Here there had evidently been reconstruction within the Hellenistic or Graeco-Roman period.

(2) About the middle of the excavated area, the north-east angle of a similar pedestal remained, of two courses of masonry on a footing of rubble cement, with older bases imbedded in it. Its east face was preserved for 3·30 m. south of the angle, and then the cement footing seemed to give place to smaller detached bases or pavement slabs; so here may have been the south-east angle. Of the other dimensions of this monement no evidence remained, except about 1·10 m. of the north face.

(3) About a metre east of this damaged pedestal, a flat slab (C) 1·00 m. by 0·95 m., lying horizontally on undisturbed sand, carried on its northern and southern edges upright slabs 0·70–0·75 m. long, 0·45 m. high, and 0·20 m. thick. The whole structure looked like the lining of a doorway, but there was no trace of wall footing farther north and south, and it may have been a built-up pedestal.

North of these structures, the quality of the remains changed. Instead of bases and slabs of dressed masonry, irregularly grouped indeed, but fairly oriented and certainly in place, there were clusters of rudely hewn blocks, (B, B) from 1·00 m. to 0·50 m. square, but only roughly rectangular, with broken or worn angles, and usually a four-sided socket in the upper side, which sometimes still contained the base and feet of a human figure in the same local limestone (Pl. 11, 3). These base-blocks formed four groups, one of three rows, two of one row, and one quite irregular; but as some of the bases were upside down, their positions seem to result from a complete devastation of the area; similar bases formed part of a rude pavement or platform at the south end, only 0·20–0·40 m. below the surface; others lay partly beneath the monument (2), already described, so the sanctuary must have been partly rearranged in Hellenistic times. The feet of a statue were found built into the rubble wall of the 'Deposit Chamber', to be described later; and the lower part of another lay near the surface.

Stratification.—Only here and there could be seen any sequence of undisturbed deposits, as follows: (i) undisturbed sand, with variable bands of water-borne gravel, ended at 1·50–1·60 m. from the surface, covered by (ii) disturbed earth with fragments of terracotta figures, large and small, and then (iii) a plaster floor 0·11 m. thick, which abutted against the footings of a thick rubble cross-wall, running south from the northern boundary wall and apparently contemporary with it. Then (iv) came 0·50 m. of reddish earth mixed with ashes, stones, and near the base, a very few rough terracotta figures (544–6 below) much scaled and damaged. It was in this layer (iv) that most of the disturbed base-blocks lay. Then (v) at

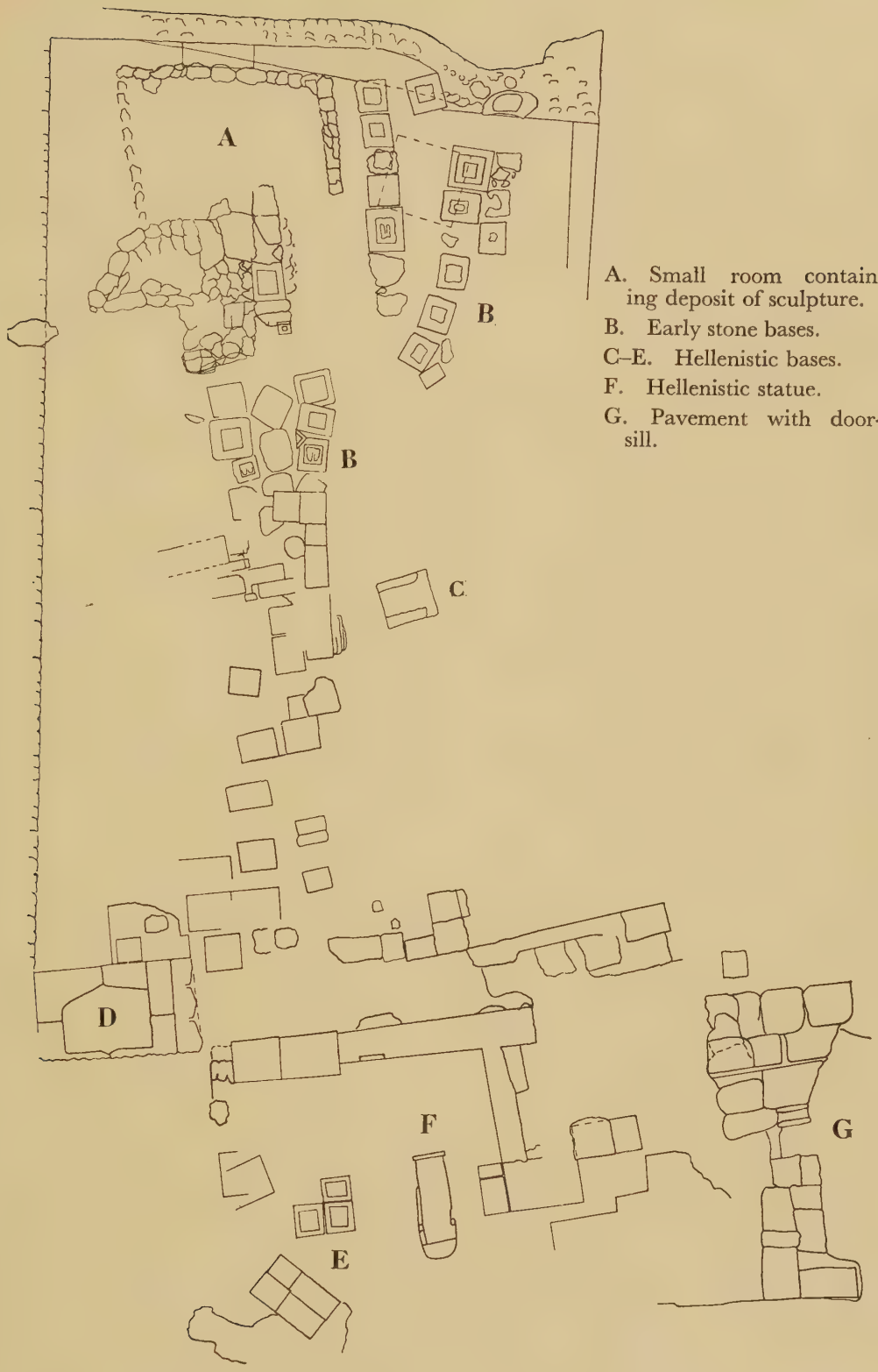


FIG. 1. LEFKÓNIKO: SANCTUARY SITE; SKETCH-PLAN.
(Scale about 10 feet to an inch: north at top).

0·60 m. above the plaster floor, came the footings of a thin wall of poor loose rubble, enclosing an irregular four-sided chamber (A) about 3·50 m. in each direction, which occupied the whole north-west corner of the enclosure bounded by the thick rubble wall belonging to layer (iii). The walls of this chamber rose about 1·0 m. to the surface soil, and had been gashed and disintegrated by the plough.

The Deposit Chamber and its Contents (Pl. 11, 4, 5, 6).—The whole of this chamber was packed tightly to the depth of about 0·50 m.—that is, up to plough-level—with a mass of stone statuettes and fragments of sculpture, of all periods and styles, from the seventh century B.C. to the latest Graeco-Roman work of the third or fourth century A.D. The little oriental bronze figures (598, Pl. 12, 1) and the four bronze cows (599, Pl. 12, 2–4) were found among these stone figures near the south-east corner of the chamber, and it was within the area of this deposit that the bronze object had been found previously, which drew attention to the site, but had gone astray. The figures, many already headless and otherwise damaged, had been deliberately stacked; the longer ones in nearly upright ranks round the walls, but more and more inclined towards the centre (Pl. 11, 6); then the more irregular fragments had been packed in the middle, and small heads and other fragments on top (Pl. 11, 5). The whole deposit, therefore, was made in one operation, at the close of the sanctuary's career. An approximate date for this was given by a couple of very late Roman lamps, and bronze coins of late fabric, quite undecipherable, deep down in the deposit. Though many fragments were found all through the disturbed soil beyond the walls of the deposit chamber, the deposit itself did not seem to have been ever much deeper than now. It had consisted, that is, of not more than one tier of standing figures, and the present ground-level had been determined by its resistance to the plough, for soil-moisture had cemented the figures firmly together. As no type of sculpture was found in disturbed earth outside the deposit, which did not occur also in it, and as there was no trace of any layer of sculpture debris outside it, it seemed certain that the loose fragments already found in surface soil had been detached and scattered by the plough.

History of the Site

Taking all the evidence into one survey, therefore, the history of the Lefkóniko Sanctuary may be reconstructed as follows. On previously unoccupied ground, represented by the undisturbed gravel and sand of stratum (i) 1·80 m. from the present surface, a small sanctuary was established in the Early Iron Age. The earliest offerings in layer (ii) were rough hand-modelled terracottas, but these did not remain in vogue long, for they were neither numerous nor varied in style; and soon, as in some other Cypriote sanctuaries, they were superseded by stone figures, about the beginning of the seventh century B.C.

The continuous sequence of the stone figures shows that the sanctuary remained in regular use till the third or fourth century A.D. There was no occasion, therefore, for any change of floor level, and the single lime-washed plaster floor probably resulted rather from the cumulative white-washings of the original levelled surface of the older deposits with terracotta figures—for there seems to have been a complete renovation at this stage—than from any formal paving. This kind of floor has its counterpart in the lime-floors of Minoan houses and sanctuaries in Crete, in the Graeco-Roman house-floors of the Bamboula Hill at Larnaca, and in the present-day houses of Lefkóniko village. The derangement of the large statue bases, when the sanctuary was wrecked, is quite sufficient to account for the disappearance of so much of this floor.

Though the greater number of the stone figures in the Deposit Chamber were less than

0·50 m. high, the rough stone bases—more than thirty, including fragments—show that occasionally life-size statues were dedicated. Heads (160–5), hands, feet (588–90) and other fragments of such statues were found in the Deposit (588–90, Pl. 13, 2); the earliest were in oriental styles, of the seventh and sixth cenutries; one (Pl. 13, 3), of which the body was found before the excavation, and the head in disturbed earth on the site, may be as late as the beginning of the fifth; and one large head (Pl. 13, 2 (163)) is later in the fifth; but after that there are no large statues till the Hellenistic Age, when they are represented in the Deposit by the torso (Pl. 11, 1) and some damaged heads (397–403) from the south end of the excavation, and by feet, arms, and other fragments (Pl. 20, hand and lyre).

The original sanctuary-area was bounded on the north, west, and east by thick walls of rubble, resting on the original ground-level just below the lime-floor. Their thickness—which was in places as much as a metre, though usually half a metre or even less—and the rarity of rubble-stones in the disturbed earth, suggest that the rubble walls were never much higher than now, and that they carried upper courses of sun-dried brick, the disintegration of which has caused the deposit of fine earth above the lime-floor, almost identical in quality with the mud bricks made in 1913 in Lefkóniko village and intended for use in modern houses on just such rubble plinths. There was much brick-earth also outside the west wall, rising in places nearly to the present surface. In Cesnola's excavation at Athiénou, Colonna-Ceccaldi noted a great quantity of brick-earth (*Mon. Ant. de Chypre*, p. 50).

That the mud-brick courses must have been of some height is to be inferred from the amount of this brick-earth on the site; and also from the degree to which coloured decoration has been preserved on the stone statues; for if these had stood for centuries in an open yard, they must have been rain-washed on head and shoulders, and the earlier ones more than the later. As nothing of this kind has occurred, either at Lefkóniko or in the sanctuaries excavated by di Cesnola and by Ohnefalsch-Richter, it must be inferred that all these sanctuaries had a roof, or pent-house. As there were no tiles or roofing slabs, it must be further inferred that this roof was of brushwood and earth, protected by lime-wash, as in the modern village houses. Hence the occurrence of wood-ashes, charcoal, and burned earth, in the layer above the plastered floor, in which the statue-bases lay. At the last, the sanctuary had been burned.

In course of time, the Lefkóniko sanctuary, like other Cypriote shrines, became crowded with dedications, as the statue-bases show, and had to be enlarged. The original east wall was pulled down, a little east of the Deposit Chamber, where the angle is traceable, and replaced further east on a different alignment, and very clumsily connected with the old north wall. This later wall contained a stone torso and a base-block, and overlay another base and a small deposit of stone figures resulting from the disturbance of this side of the old enclosure.

The original south wall, also, has quite disappeared. Probably it lay about 9 metres from the north wall, as there were no early bases so far south as this; and it is here that the structures of squared masonry, and the stone pavements lay, on ground apparently undisturbed, though at a rather higher level than the old plaster floor and its rude statue bases. But even the boundary wall of this later annexe was almost wholly destroyed, being of more attractive material than the old rubble. This annexe in turn became crowded with more pretentious monuments in classical style.

Then, when Christianity came, the old sanctuary was neglected and fell into decay. There was certainly some burning. The mud-brick walls crumbled, and smothered the floor with brick-earth. The large statues fell, or broke off, leaving their feet to weather in

their sockets. The pavement was partly grubbed up, and the larger blocks of stone were carried off as building material. Compare the disordered statue-bases at Agia Irini (*SCE* II. pl. xxix. p. 796).

But this period of neglect was not the end. In some interval of reaction, or mere regret, pious hands built a rough resting-place for the relics of the old cult, and collected into this 'Deposit Chamber' all that seemed worth saving, of the votive sculpture, before its painted decoration had had time to fade. The date of this last episode is given approximately by the lamps and coins which were accidentally included in the deposit; and one late Roman lamp lay *under* the north wall of the Deposit. Nothing, however, seems to have been built over the old site; there was even no domestic pottery. The ground was perhaps held uncanny, or it may have been included, like so many other pagan sanctuaries, in the precinct of a Christian church, the precursor of the little chapel hard by.

Two observations may be permitted, in regard to earlier excavations on similar sites. In the first place, the discovery, for the first time, of an actual deposit chamber, confirms the explanation offered long ago by Ernest Renan of a collection of broken sculpture found by peasants at Amrît in Phoenicia (*Mission en Phénicie* p. 850).[1] His allusion to the 'great number' of these deposits in Cyprus suggests that some details which have escaped publication were current locally in 1873 as to the source of the statues which were being exhumed in large numbers by General di Cesnola, R. Hamilton Lang, and others, in the years preceding Renan's visit to the Levant. With this clue, it is worth while to re-read the published narratives, which will be seen to contain rather more information than they have sometimes been given credit for. Ohnefalsch-Richter's unpublished report on Akhna is in the British Museum (*CMC* p. 1). For Dali, compare the building marked R in Colonna-Ceccaldi's plan (*l.c.* pl. i.). On the other hand the statement of Colonna-Ceccaldi (*l.c.* 39–40) who visited Athiénon in Cesnola's time: 'beaucoup de ces statues et ornaments avaient dû être transférés dans un édifice plus moderne, sa succursale, qui était devenu bientôt en quelque sorte la paroisse métropolitain d'Athienou,' seems to refer to a general reorganisation of the site, like that in Hellenistic times in Lefkóniko, and in Cypro-Geometric times at Agia Irini (*SCE* II. 821–2).

In the second place, the disordered state of even the lowest stratum at Lefkóniko suggests that the published plans of other Cypriote sanctuaries do not necessarily represent the original arrangement of their contents. This applies particularly to the sanctuary at Voni near Kythrea (Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Athenische Mittheilungen* IX 127 ff. 139 ff. pl. iv. v.; *Kypros, the Bible, and Homer* (Engl. ed.) p. 2, pl. v., cf. iv.–ix. xl. xli. ccxv.), and to that at Idalion (*KBH* pl. lvi.–vii.), where the bases were found crowded together or irregularly spaced, and even overlapping; and where the roughly four-sided chamber which projects into the middle of the enclosure may have been a deposit chamber like that at Lefkóniko.

[1] Renan, *Mission en Phénicie* p. 850: letter from M. Péretié dated Nov. 18, 1873. 'Dans un caveau ou souterrain près du Maabed' the fine monolithic chamber 'probablement parmi les débris de constructions figurés à l'angle N. O. de l'enceinte taillé dans le roc (voir Pl. VIII) on a trouvé un assez grand nombre de débris de statuettes, dont les têtes, comme cela a lieu à Chypre, sont séparées de corps.' Sixty-four such heads were brought to M. Péretié; together with bodies of statues, and of animals much damaged. One body was as much as 40 cm. high; the head and part of the legs were missing: 'cependant, à un reste d'un petit lion que le personnage tenait de la main gauche, et dont on ne voit plus que les pattes, ou reconnait que la statue a du ressembler à ces colosses trouvés à Ninivé (maintenant au Musée du Louvre) qui écrasent un lion contre leur ceinture. Toutes les autres pièces que sont entre les mains de M. Péretié sont des têtes ressemblant beaucoup à celles qu'on a découvertes à Chypre.' The letter goes on to describe their 'type sémitique très accusé', and especially an 'Assyrian' bearded head with conical cap and curly beard. The deposit, as a whole, is described by M. Renan as 'un de ces dépôts de statues brisées, comme Chypre en possède un grand nombre, et qui remontent certainement à l'epoque de la destruction du paganisme.'

The South Excavation

On information from the owner of the land, soundings were made on a plot about 140 m. south of the Sanctuary. The proprietor said that about thirty years ago, he and his father discovered foundations of walls and some statues here, and also a ' square room ' of masonry, which they did not open. This sounded rather like an echo of our own experiences; but a few men were diverted to this plot. The first trenches yielded nothing, but at last a wall-footing was found, running east and west, and other traces of walls too much devastated to yield any plan. There was a good deal of plaster foundation and pavement. Below a plaster floor, at 0·50 m., lay an earlier floor of thin plaster at 1·75 m., and below this an oval cistern about 0·60–0·80 m. in diameter, lined with plaster. This cistern went down 2·00 m., and was then contracted by a shelf 0·25 m. wide, within which the cavity went down 0·30 m. further, to a plaster bottom. From it came late unpainted sherds, Hellenistic or Graeco-Roman, pieces of large jars, a bowl, and a cup. Level with the east-and-west wall-footing, a plaster floor 0·15 m. thick extended northward sloping a little to the west. A similar floor at the same level extended south of the wall-footing for 3·00 m., till it was stopped by a rubble foundation. Our wall-footing was found to cut through this floor and was therefore later. After four days' work, it became clear that the site was not worth further examination. Similar foundations were said to be encountered by the plough over a considerable area, but nothing was shown that justified trenches. It is remarkable how completely an ancient settlement can disappear in the lowlands of Cyprus, under the combined assault of stone-robbers and winter rains.

The small finds were very few, and included bits of pink wall-plaster, a *Cypraea* shell, a *Conus* shell, a flat circular weight, without inscription, one bit of shapeless bronze, and fragments of Bronze Age pottery—ordinary ' white painted ware ' (one), ' white slip ware ' (one), Late Minoan III cream-coloured ware (one) with bands of red glaze-paint. But there was nothing to show whence these early fragments were derived, and no similar fragments were brought in from the surface of the fields. I suspect that they were brought by a workman to substantiate the story of the ' statues and closed chamber '.

The Stone Statues and Statuettes

These are male, as at Voni where the cult is identified by three dedications (*CMC* 5143–45) as that of Apollo, and where some of the figures (*CMC* 5048–52) have an eagle (*CMC* 5048–49), a Nike (5050) or a fawn (5051–52) as attribute. At Dali, whence come most of the figures in the British Museum's collection, the deity is Apollo Amyklos, the Phoenician Reshef Mikal. But as at Voni and Dali, most of the offerings at Lefkóniko represent the idealised votary, holding dove, incense-box (*pyxis*), or lustral spray of foliage. Only very few are more precisely characterised; the scribes with outspread roll (Pl. 12, 123; 17, 426) and the family group of father and sons (Pl. 12, 6 (114)). These seem intended to be portraits. There are, however, a very few stray female figures, such as occur on other Cypriote sanctuaries for male worship (Pl. 17, 425).

The figures are all cut in a white local limestone, with characteristic use of the knife as well as the chisel. As the limestone is tabular and thin-bedded, they are flat behind; the head is uplifted to reduce the risk of damage to the nose; the arms are pressed closely to the sides, or upon the breast; and the feet are foreshortened and protected by a base by which they could be secured in a separate pedestal: but no such were found except for the largest

figures: the small ones were simply set up against a wall, or in front of previous dedications. The earlier draperies were very simply rendered, with a few shallow grooves and overfolds; in the fifth century the under-garment shows the characteristic 'crinkled' or 'crêpon' texture, still commonly woven in Cyprus for underwear. But at all periods red paint was used for eyeballs, lips, hair, and the borders and seams of garments.

The summary classification and description which follows is abridged from the very detailed inventory prepared by Mr. Menelaos Markides, who was Keeper of the Cyprus Museum in 1913, for the series selected by him for exhibition—only a small part of the total contents of the 'Deposit Chamber' (nos. 1–132 (Pl. 12)). It has been thought sufficient to compare the series from Voni and Tamassos, fully described in the *Cyprus Museum Catalogue* (Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter) 1899 [= *CMC*]; from Dali, in the British Museum *Catalogue of Sculpture* I ii. § C (F. N. Pryce) 1931 [= *BM. C*]; and from Athienou (Golgoi) and other sites, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York: *Handbook to the Cesnola Collection* (Myres) 1914 [= *Cesn.*].

Oriental Style : seventh century B.C.[1] Nos. 1–132 (Pl. 12).

Votaries, erect, flat-backed: strongly 'oriental' features and prominent nose; Cap pointed, concealing the hair in front, but exposing the large ears; in *series A* no side-flaps are shown, but in *series B* the side-flaps are turned up and secured in front of the peak, as shown in detail on larger figures, such as *Cesn.* 1004, 1257, 1284, 1352. In nos. 48, 60, 62 the cap is coloured red. Behind the head, the hair hangs in a heavy mass, without any details. A foldless tunic falls from neck to ankles, usually with a broad border in red paint; on no. 29 the whole tunic is red. A heavy cloak hangs in straight folds from the left shoulder, and is caught up from behind under the right arm and thrown over the left shoulder again, displaying in front either a heavy tasselled fringe in relief and coloured red, or a plain red border. The left arm hangs by the side; the right is slung in a fold of the cloak across the breast. The feet are close together and bare. Compare Voni (*CMC* 5003–4), Tamassos (*CMC* 6074–7), Dali (*BM. C* 39–84), *Cesn. Hdbk.* 1001–5; *KBH* XLI. 5, hands by sides, 6, right hand slung.

This is the widespread costume of Syria and Asia Minor in pre-Hellenic times, familiar from Assyrian reliefs and the engraved bowls and sealstones of Syria and Phoenicia. It may have persisted later, alongside Hellenic dress, but there is no stratigraphical evidence.

1–42. *Series A.* Heads 43–65 (Pl 12, 5 (1, 2, 3)). Very long and narrow, simply cut, with few sculptured details, but much use of red paint. No trace of Egyptian influence. Cf. Voni (*CMC* 5003–4); *Cesn.* 1001–5. H. 1·00–0·12 m.

66–86. *Series B.* Heads 87–97. Ear-flaps and cloak-fringes and the free end of the cloak are cut in relief. The features are fuller and softer, under Egyptian influence, during the Twenty-sixth Dynasty occupation of Cyprus. Red paint as in *Series A.* On the head no. 92 the side-flaps are indicated in red paint. H. 0·75–0·15 m.

98–106. *Series C.* Heads 107, 108. Egyptian influence is more evident, and the costume changes. On 98–101 is a tunic with short sleeves, falling on each side to a point, and cut away in front to expose a belt, in low relief, and a broad kilt to the ankles: over all is a cloak like that of *Series A.* There is copious use of red; e.g., the front of the cap of 108. H. 0·67–0·16 m.

109–22. *Series D. Statuettes with attributes.*

109–12. *Double-flute players* (Pl. 12, 6 (109, 111, 112). In long foldless tunic without cloak; cap flat (109–11) or pointed without ear-flaps (112). On 109, though the face is damaged, there are traces of the mouthband (*phorbeia*) which compressed the lips and held the flutes in place. Cf. Voni (*CMC* 5001; *KBH* XLII. 6); Khytroi (*CMC* 5302–3); *Cesn.* 1023–8; Dali (*BM. C* 27–31). H. 0·49–0·33 m.

113. *Scribe or Reader* (Pl. 12, 6 (113)). In long tunic and fringed cloak, leaving both arms exposed. The arms are bent and hold an open scroll. The head is missing, but two locks of hair fall in front of each shoulder. Tunic-border and tasselled cloak-fringe in red. H. 0·26 m.

114. *Father and Sons* (Pl. 12, 6). Three standing figures, the middle with long square beard and turban; the others

[1] For the general question of dates, see p. 100.

beardless with Egyptian head-dress: probably representing a father with his two sons. The father wears the cut-away tunic (cf. 109–12) with belt beneath, and a fringed scarf or broad stole covering both shoulders, with a necklace painted in red and a pendant in front; both arms are concealed. Belt and lips also in red. The sons, who are beardless with Egyptian wig, wear only the long tunic; that on the left holds in his left hand what looks like a rectangular bag; that on the right has his right arm hanging free; the inward arms of both are not shown. Nothing resembling this group has been found on any Cypriote site. H. 0·20 m.

115–16, 118. *Votaries holding some object in both hands* (Pl. 12, 6). From the position of the hands, it is certain that it is not the double flute: on 118 two loose ends fall below the hands, and above them the margins of the object diverge. The pose of the hands is exactly as in *Cesn.* 1029, where the figure is holding in place an animal's-head mask: the dress is the same cut-away tunic as in 98 ff. For figures with bull's-head masks at Agia Irini see *SCE.* II. 823.

117–119. *Votary with clasped hands*, in the same costume as 115–18: very small but carefully cut: no trace of flute or mask-strings. H. 0·12–0·07 m.

120–2. *Votaries bearing a calf* (*Moschophoros*) *or ram* (*Kriophoros*) (Pl. 12, 6). In long tunic, foldless except 120: a pointed cap is worn by 122. The animal rests on the back of the neck, with two legs in front of each shoulder, all grasped in the right hand; the left hand hangs free. Compare *Cesn.* 1119–20, bearing a ram (*Kriophoros* type). H. 0·08–0·07 m.

123–32. *Series E.* Egyptian influence predominant. The head-dress is a frontlet such as is worn by *Cesn.* 1251; the dress a long foldless tunic, with short sleeves, and a cloak hanging from the left shoulder, leaving the right arm free.

123 wears the long tunic with right arm resting in a fold of the cloak as in *Series A, B.*

124 has the cloak hanging from the left shoulder, leaving the right arm free and exposing the short-sleeved tunic.

125 ff. wear only the short-sleeved foldless tunics, and both arms fall free; the tunic of 128 and 132 is painted red.

Mixed Oriental Style. c. 650–550 B.C.

133–5. *Votaries with various attributes* (Pl. 13, 133–5). All wear the long short-sleeved tunic: 134 has also a cloak: 133 has the frontlet head-dress with a broad mass of hair behind the head. 134-5 have rows of small curls below the frontlet.

136. *Votary in unusual costume* (Pl. 13, 136: = 144 MS. Inv.). The head is missing. The under-garment beneath the cut-away tunic ends in a blunt point at the knees. The shins are bare, with well-marked kneecap and ridge in front; the left foot is advanced. This is an unusual variant, but the workmanship is the same as 133–5.

[In this section the numbers in the MS. Inventory do not correspond with those on the objects. Nos. 136–44 in MS. Inv. are in continuation of the series 133–5. Nos. 137–41 in Plate 13 are identical with MS. Inv. 145–9.]

137–41. *Votaries in tunic and Cypriote loin-cloth* (Pl. 13, 137–41). Only 139 preserves the hand, but the head associated with 138 is of the same type. In this type both hands hang freely, and the left foot is advanced. The close-fitting tunic is not indicated in these small ill-cut figures, but is well seen on larger examples, and sometimes has red borders to neck and sleeves.

The characteristic Cypriote loin-cloth or kilt (*Cesn.* 1040–7; *KBH* CCXIV 15; *BM. C* 7) falls from a broad belt which is worn over the vest, and is fitted closely to the hips, with a long point behind, which is drawn forward between the thighs and upwards towards the belt, where it was fastened by a button or hook. It seems to be derived from the Minoan kilt, and to have been retained in Cyprus as a ceremonial dress to the end of the sixth century. On these small figures, only the lower edge of the garment is shown, below the belt.

Archaic Cypriote Style with Greek Influence.

153, 154, 155. 142–7. *Votaries in long tunic and short cloak.* The heads are missing, but the square-ended lapels on the shoulders of 154–5 belong to the characteristic peaked cap which is worn by Persians in Greek vase paintings and on reliefs at Susa, and represented on the head 156. The cloak hangs from the left shoulder, but only reaches the knee, exposing the long tunic, with a single deep fold between the legs. The feet of 143, 145, 146, 158 are shod. Both arms hang freely.

158. A fold of the cloak merges in that of the tunic below it: but on 159 and 161 three folds are distinct. [Here again there is a duplication of nos. 154–64 with the large heads described below.] H. 0·27–0·12 m.

159, though small, is more carefully cut, and has the head, with two rows of curls above the forehead. H. 0·01 m.

160. 148, better cut and of stout proportions. with some modelling of the arms, has one row of curls beneath the pointed cap with ear-flaps raised and tied as in the earlier figures. The face shows archaic Greek influence, and the 'archaic smile' which in Cyprus is still a common feature among the women and boys. H. 0·35 m.

161–2. *Votaries with kid.* The costume is the same as in 159–60: and 162 has two rows of curls and the rest of the hair is parted from front to back. Both arms are bent forward at the elbow and much foreshortened: 161 holds a kid in the right hand; 162 in the left, with the right hand raised palm forward, in adoration. Only the head and forelegs of the kid appear. H. 0·28–0·16 m.

Fragments of Larger Statues in Oriental and Archaic Cypriote Styles.

Very few of the statues whose presence is attested by the large stone bases are represented even by fragments, but fortunately just enough to compare with the series from Voni and in the Cesnola collection.

159 (Pl. 13, 2 = MS. Inv. 177) is the front of a head in the most conventional oriental style, strongly influenced by Assyrian work of the eighth and seventh centuries. The head-dress is the peaked cap with raised ear-flaps, represented as composed of smooth horizontal bands probably representing leather with embroidery or fur

between them; the ear-flaps are plain. The eyebrows are arched and heavy, but too much worn to make certain the traces of the characteristic 'feathered' treatment. The nose and mouth are damaged, but the beard remains, in ten or twelve smooth vertical masses each ending in an outward curl: compare the colossal head *Cesn.* 1257 and *BM. C* 67–75.

160, 161, 162 (lips and beard only) (Pl. 13, 2 = MS. Inv. 178, 179, 180) are in the mixed oriental style, with some Greek influence in 161–2. Above the forehead are two rows of curls, and 160 wears a wreath of two sprays of leaves which meet in front. The eyebrows are no longer prominent. There is a clipped moustache with long ends, exposing the lips, and 160 has a triangular patch of clipped hair below the mouth. The beard is otherwise full, in four or five rows of out-turned curls, recalling the Persian fashion.

163. Complete head (Pl. 13, 2 = MS. Inv. 192), see 192 below.

164. Only nose and lips preserved, clean shaven but not therefore necessarily in the Egyptian style; Pl. 13, 2 compare *Cesn.* 1257, 1258, 1352–3, where the full beard does not reach the lips.

165 (176). Bearded head, smaller with two rows of curls below a wreath of outward-pointing laurel-sprays. The eyebrows are not indicated, and the beard and moustache are smooth: behind the ears heavy tresses of hair fall to the shoulders. H. 0·12–0·05 m.

166–76, 181. Beardless heads (except perhaps 172 which is weathered (Pl. 14, 1)) with curls or plaits, laurel wreath, and on top of the head are grooves or crossed grooves; knotted fillet, variously treated: on 175 the hair falls in long ringlets below the fillet. The eyes of 166, 168, 177, 178, 179 are carefully cut, but the rest are prominent and flat, to be finished in paint. Within the limits of archaic Cypriote style, there are several types of face, and some attempt at portraiture. H. 0·12–0·05 m.

The head of 179 (MS. Inv. 181) supports a large torus moulding like the foot of a vase, but the object to which it belonged is shattered.

Archaic Greek Influence, c. 500 B.C.

180. Life-size statue, on square base (Pl. 13, 3). Only the hands are missing, for the head, missing when the body was found by villagers in 1913, was recovered in excavation. The long foldless tunic—of crinkled material indicated by wavy grooves—descends to the ankles, and has short sleeves. The feet are bare, the left slightly advanced. A heavy cloak hangs in solid folds from the left shoulder, leaving the right arm bare, and is gathered in the left hand, with a stiff zigzag fold nearly to the hem of the tunic. The right arm is cut clear of the body, but with a small attachment above the wrist. The head has two rows of large curls below a filleted wreath; the eyebrows are faintly indicated; the eyes prominent but ill modelled. There is neither beard nor moustache. Hard grayish sandstone. H. 0·75 m.

181–91. Beardless heads, smaller, with curls now continued as long tresses within the wreath: the modelling of the eyes varies, but sometimes Hellenic influence is strong. H. 0·25–0·10 m.

181*–6*. Statuettes of Herakles (Pl. 14, 2). [Again there is some duplication of the numbers: these small figures in archaic style belong to the same series as 406–10 below.]

192. Life-size head (Pl. 13, 163), with one row of curls below a wreath of out-turned laurel-leaves with lattice grooves on top. The eyebrows, in relief, are rendered with oblique lines; the eyes fairly well cut. There is no beard, but a small pointed moustache. The lips are painted red. There is some attempt at portraiture here. H. 0·30 m.

Mature and Decadent Style : fifth and fourth centuries B.C.

193–237. Heads usually beardless, with curls and wreath like the preceding group, but becoming conventionalised and careless; sometimes the hair falls heavily behind the neck. The eyes are prominent, and tabular. H. 0·20–0·07 m.

223–4. Bearded heads in the same style, treated like the large heads 160 (MS. Inv. 178) but more simply with two or three rows of curls, and long drooping moustache: in 224 the eyeballs are hollow.

Hellenistic Style : third and second centuries B.C.

238–318. Heads usually beardless, with ill-cut curls or radial tresses. The eyes are prominent and flat, to be completed usually in red; but in 253 they are in yellow. In 241, 254, yellow is also used for the wreath. The mouth also is ill cut, and in 308–318 it becomes a mere straight groove, to be painted. H. 0·14–0·07 m.

Hellenistic or Graeco-Roman : Life-size Male Heads. With some attempt at portraiture; Nos. 397–403, cf. *Cesn.* 1323, 1326; *BM. C* 173–98.

397. Life-size; wreath of long leaves (Pl. 16), convergent above long loose coils of hair which cover the ears but do not reach the neck: hair parted and wavy within the wreath. Eyes fully modelled, nose straight from the brows, face round and full; cf. Voni (*KBH* xl. 1, Apollo with Eagle); cf. *Cesn.* 1318. H. 0·28 m.

398, 399. Life-size (Pl. 15). Narrow wreath and short, wavy hair; some attempt at portraiture; cf. *KBH* xli. 3. H. 0·25 m.

400. Life-size (Pl. 16). Narrow wreath and short,wavy hair. The eyes are hollow, to be filled with coloured paste. H. 0·22 m.

401. Life-size (Pl. 16). Wreath of rising leaves, above loose coiled tresses, which cover the ears, as in 397. H. 0·29 m.

402. Life-size (Pl. 15). Wreath and fillet over short roll of hair: rather firmer mouth than the preceding. H. 0·27 m.

403. Life-size (Pl. 15). No wreath; hair in short locks: the portrait of an elderly man; compare *Cesn.* 1323. H. 0·25 m.

With these heads should be compared the complete standing figures from Voni *CMC*

5037, 5054–6, *KBH* xl. 3; ccxv. 7, and the headless figure at Lefkóniko (Pl. 11, 1), which was installed in the portico of the village church. The remarkable series of Ptolemaic portrait-heads from Dali (*BM. C* 175–91) has no counterpart at Lefkóniko.

Other Hellenistic Types.

319–47. Heads of votaries, young men or boys, wearing a peculiar flat round cap (*KBH* xcii. 6; *BMC* 199–201), from which the hair is parted on the forehead, with shallow grooves, or in a plain mass, sometimes with indented margin. The eyes are sometimes fully sculptured (319–33), but sometimes (like the mouth) hardly indicated at all (334–47). Red paint is used for eyes, lips, and cap-border. On 343 long tresses frame the face, as in 358–60. H. 0·13–0·05 m.

348–57. Larger heads with narrow wreath above short, wavy locks. H. 0·18–0·11 m.

358–60. Similar, but the hair frames the face in long, curled tresses. H. 0·14–0·09 m.

361. Similar, but without the long tresses. H. 0·07 m.

362–69. Similar, but without wreath; the hair is in wavy locks. In 362–3 two plaited locks descend from the top of the head to the back of the neck: these are clearly children, and all these heads may be from 'Temple boys' like 430–69 below. H. 0·20–0·10 m.

370–74. *Pan or the rustic 'Shepherd's Patron', Opaon Melanthios* (Pl. 19). Small heads with long ears, and horns on the forehead; from figures like 470–80 below, cf. Amargetti (N.W. of Paphos), *CMC* 5901–9, where inscribed bases 5921–4 give the dedication Ὀπάονι Μελανθίῳ (*JHS* XI pp. 115 ff). Compare also *Cesn.* 1114–18; *BMC* 230, 231. H. 0·15–0·10 m.

375–81. Small heads in 'Phrygian' peaked caps with wreath of leaves, and hair above the forehead (Pl. 19). These also seem to represent a pastoral deity, Tamassos (*CMC* 6127–8), *Cesn.* 1143, and the larger figure 1231, in full Persian dress.

382–96. Heads probably from 'Temple boys', like 430–69 below.

Figures of Herakles of various periods and styles.

406–10. (Pl. 14, 2, 3, 4): compare 181–6 above (Pl. 14, 2). Herakles in Cyprus is represented on several sanctuary sites, by a composite type, armed both with club and with bow-and-arrows, which suggested the epithet ἀμφιδέξιος in the Cypriote inscription *Cesn. Appx.* 1843. Herakles is also the lion-killer, wears the lion-skin, and sometimes has a lion as attribute (*Cesn.* 1097–8, 1101–15, cf. the relief 1109 and Tamassos (*CMC* 6116). So complicated a type challenged abridgement in a series of phases from Archaic Cypriote style (1092) to Hellenistic (1098). Compare Voni (*CMC* 5136–9); Tamassos (*CMC* 6116–18); Dali (*BM. C* 206–20). At Dali the club seems to be omitted (*BM. Cat.* p. 83).

406. *Archaic Cypriote Style* (Pl. 14). The right arm and both feet are missing, and the left arm below the elbow. The figure advances with left foot forward, and brandishes the club behind the head. Over a shallow-grooved tunic, which descends to a point between the knees, the lion's skin is girt closely round the waist by a belt; the fore-paws are drawn over the shoulders and knotted on the breast; the scalp is worn like a hood, with ears erect, and three rows of small curls above the forehead; the lower jaw encloses the hero's cheeks, concealing his ears. His eyebrows are in relief and lightly 'feathered'; eyes, nose, and lips well modelled, with clean-shaven chin. The left hand held the bow and quiver against the left thigh. A vigorous work of the late sixth or early fifth century. H. 0·40 m.

407. Smaller and rougher work (Pl. 14). Right arm, face, left forearm, and both legs are missing. The pose is as in 406.

408. Smaller still: both arms and both legs missing (Pl. 14). The pose is as in 406, but the club is held obliquely, the lion's scalp has slipped off the head behind, and the tunic falls below the knees. The eyes are prominent and tabular, in the later manner.

409. Head and breast of a smaller figure (Pl. 14) with fillet and one row of curls, and stronger Hellenic influence: the raised right arm is clearly seen.

410. Another type, without visible club (Pl. 14): head, parts of both arms, and both legs missing. The costume is the same as in 406–9, except that there is no belt, and the lion-skin is not clearly defined. The right hand was held to the side, grasping a quiver full of arrows across the right thigh. The left hand, level with the elbow and foreshortened, held the bow erect in front of the shoulder. Compare the colossal Herakles *Cesn.* 1360, wrongly restored with a club in the left hand, though the back of the bow is clearly preserved. The whole bow is preserved on *Cesn.* 1092–92*a*, 1093.

Figures of Herakles from Voni (*CMC* 5136–9), and Tamassos (*CMC* 6116–18) are of later and different types.

Zeus Ammon (Pl. 17, 411–21).

This deity, or a native god whose symbol was a ram, is, like Herakles, a concomitant of the principal cult elsewhere in Cyprus (Tamassos, *CMC* 6162; Dali *BM. C* 222–4; *Cesn.* 1136–41; *KBH* CXCI. 4). There are several types, more or less abbreviated.

411. Ram-horned deity seated in high-backed chair, of which the arms are *not* modelled as rams: beardless, in Oriental style. H. 0·09 m.

412. The deity is still beardless, but wears a long folded tunic, and his hands rest on the heads of rams which support his seat. Traces of red paint about the feet. Archaic Cypriote style. H. 0·16 m.

412*a*. Bearded, but headless and damaged below. Over the folded tunic a sheep-skin, rendered by rough-tooling, falls from the shoulders and is fastened on the breast. The fleece of the rams is shown by similar tooling. Decadent Cypriote style. H. 0·22 m.

413, 413*a*. Head and rams damaged; but three long locks of hair fall on the shoulders: very poor work with few details. H. 0·23–0·25 m.

414. Lower part only; flat backed and much foreshortened, but with Hellenic rendering of tunic folds and an overmantle. The head of the ram on the left rests against the god's knee. H. 0·11 m.

415, 416, 417. Fragments in later styles. H. 0·10–0·07 m.

418, 419. The bearded god, in heavily draped cloak painted red, reclines on the back of a large ram: 419 is damaged.

420. The bearded god is seated on the front edge of a round base, with a ram under his right hand only. His left hand, raised, holds a sceptre. His head supports a large shallow bowl for libations, of which the near side is carried by a round column. This is an abridgement of the bowl or laver, supported by three or four figures. Compare the ram-headed 'kriophoros' supporting a bowl *Cesn.* 1141; the female votary *KBH* CXXXIV. 2, CXCVII. 2; and the sphinx *Cesn.* 1087–9. Late Hellenistic work. H. 0·11 m.

421. The bearded god supports a bowl with his head, as in 420, but his body is concealed by a large ram, as in 418. Rough late work. Compare *BM. C* 440. H. 0·08 m.

422. Within a framed rectangular shrine the god sits between rams: his head is missing. Very rough work. H. 0·07 m.

423–4. Upper parts of small figures of Zeus Ammon.

Nursing Mother: 425 (Pl. 17).

This votive type, appropriate to the cult and shrine of a goddess, only occurs once at Lefkóniko; but there are parallels in two bearded warriors and five other bearded votaries from the Kamelargà sanctuary site at Larnaca (*CMC* 5535–9, 5541–2), where all the other figures are female, the two Artemis figures (*CMC* 5140–41) from the Apollo sanctuary at Voni and the Apollo from the Artemis-site at Akhna.

For the type, which has its precursors in the Bronze Age, compare the series *Cesn.* 1124–32.

425. The Mother is seated on a high-backed throne with arms, flat-backed and much foreshortened. The body of the child is not shown at all, and only its head, with characteristic pointed hood, is shown upright by the Mother's right side. Much bright red paint, as on similar figures from the sanctuary site at Akhna, a few miles south of Lefkóniko, excavated in 1882 for the British Museum (*CMC* p. 1; *KBH* p. 1, no. 1; 'Nursing Mother', *KBH* XXXVII. 4; *BM. C* 424; also 414–23 without locality. H. 0·18 m.

Seated Reader 426 (Pl. 17).

426. A male figure, seated in a chair without back. On the lap is spread a roll of manuscript held open by both hands. The head is a little upturned, as if reading or reciting. On the head is a wreath of convergent leaves with two rows of curls below. The long-sleeved tunic reaches the ankles, and on the feet are red shoes. Over it a cloak is indicated summarily by shallow folds and a double border of red paint: it is draped over the left arm, but otherwise confused with the tunic. Decadent Cypriote style, with flat tabular eyes. Red paint also on the chair. Cf. 113 above. H. 0·28 m.

Votive Animals 427–9.

427. Bull, on square base, which supports the body with the legs in relief, and is painted red: the head is missing: probably mature Cypriote work. Carelessly incised graffito on the side of the body (l. 1) ΜΗϟ . . . (l. 2) Β///ΒΟΡΤ///Λ///. H. 0·14 m.; L. 0·20 m.

428. Goat; head only, of Hellenistic work; perhaps from a votive statue larger than 161–2. L. 0·11 m.

429. Horse, or Bull; head only, much damaged, but eye and muzzle vigorously cut. L. 0·09 m.

Temple boys 430–69 (Pl. 18).

These votive-figures are characteristic of the sanctuaries of male deities in Cyprus: Voni (*CMC* 5112–35); Tamassos (*CMC* 6119–26*a*); *Dali* (*BM. C* 160–72); *Cesn.* 1204–22; de Ridder, *Collection de Clercq*; *Antiquités Chypriotes* no. 16 Pl. vii, where the type is fully discussed. They seem to represent real children dedicated to the service of the sanctuary, like the infant Samuel. At Carthage the type recurs on a votive or funerary relief (Perrot-Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité* III. p. 458 fig. 327).

430–69. A stout, fleshy infant sits resting on the thigh and hand of one side or the other—occasionally on both hands (465–6), while the other leg is in sitting posture, and the hand on that side usually holds an attribute—usually a bird (e.g. 431–5), but also a hare (439, L 60), apple (445, 456), pomegranate (442), or lustral spray (438, 455). The hand on which the figure leans holds an incense-box. The usual dress is a short tunic, usually drawn up in front to expose the groin. The head is usually bare, but 464 wears a soft Phrygian cap, and elsewhere a flat cap like 319–96, which may belong to figures of this type. The hair is in short curls (440) or wavy locks (441), or emerges below a wreath of leaves (430), or a plain frontlet (432).

Some ' Temple-boys ' wear earrings (440, 457, 465) or bracelets (431, 436, etc.), or a long chain with many pendant amulets, either as a necklace (440, 451–61, 464) or over one shoulder and under the other (467). Central pendants are a satyr or *Bes*-head (451–56, 458, 461), or a spindle-shaped phylactery (457, 460, 464; cf. *KBH* XCII. 4). Other pendants are signet rings (451, 464) or sprigs of coral (451, 452, 459). For this necklace, compare *KBH* XCIII. 2; *BM. C* 160–5 (with many kinds of pendant charm); *Cesn.* 1211, 1218, 1220, 1221; and the Homeric ' girdle ' of Aphrodite, *Iliad* 14, 214–16, which was a κεστὸς ἱμὰς, including θελκτήρια πάντα, and was worn on the bosom (223). The workmanship is usually rough, and the style decadent, from the fourth century at earliest on this site, to Graeco-Roman: a few show some attempt at portraiture (432, 441, 442).

Pan or Shepherd's Patron. 470–80 (Pl. 19), cf. 370–74 above.

Similar figures occur at Tamassos (*CMC* 6118), misdescribed as Herakles, and as holding a *book* and perhaps the heads 6127–8 and *Cesn.* 1114–18.

470–80. Heads and feet missing; but compare the heads 370–4. The body is nude except for a short cloak drawn round the shoulders, and tied in front of the breast. The right hand falls by the side, holding a long shepherd's staff, curved like a hockey-club (470–2), or rests on the hip (478–9); the left holds the pan-pipe (470; cf. *BM. C* 230) or rests on the hip (475). The figures 475 and 478 are ithyphallic, like *Cesn.* 1117–18.
H. 0·30–0·15 m.

Votaries, headless but with various attributes, 481–586. These correspond with the series of heads (1–132, 193–396), and supplement the few complete figures (133–62, 510, 511). The costume is usually a sleeved and folded tunic—sometimes of crinkled material (493–6, 536)—with a cloak drawn under the right arm and falling in front over the left shoulder. In 532–7 the cloak is worn on both shoulders and hangs with broad folds in front. Compare 538, where the cloak does not hang down in front.

Many of these figures hold attributes—a goat (484–5, 488–93, 495), bird (486–7, etc.), apple (483), incense-box (494), saucer-lamp (499; cf. the clay figure from the Kamelargá site (*CMC* 5540)), lustral spray (489, etc.; cf. *KBH* XLII. 7), or a combination of these. In others the hands hang by the sides: cf. *KBH* XLII. 4. Many show traces of red paint. There are a few special types. H. 0·12–0·80 m.

531. Wears only a tunic foldless to knee, with sleeves to elbow (Pl. 20), and a chain with pendant amulets, over the left shoulder, like the ' Temple-boy ' 467. For similar standing Temple-boys compare *Cesn.* 1191.
539. Wears a short tunic, and a cloak thrown over the left shoulder and arm, with its ends clasped on the right shoulder. The right arm, by the side, rests on a damaged object (club or bird?), the left holds an incense-box (?). H. 0·38 m.
540. Same costume as 539, but rendered in fully Hellenistic style, the garments fastened with round brooches or buttons. The right foot is advanced, and in front of it is a little rough-haired dog, with fore-paws raised. H. 0·32 m.
541. Wears a tunic to the knees, with belt, and a cloak over both shoulders, falling behind; in the left hand an apple; Head, hands, and feet missing. H. 0·23 m.
542. No trace of tunic, but a short cloak, fastened on the right shoulder, and falling in front to the knees. The arms fall by the sides, and the left hand holds an apple or cake. The feet are shod. Between the feet sits a rough-haired dog, looking upward. Head, right hand and left shoulder missing. H. 0·40 m.
543–5. Smaller statuettes in short tunic and cloak: in 543 the right hand rests on a club; in 545 both hands are covered by the cloak. H. 0·22, 0·19, 0·12 m.
546–7. Votaries holding a dove in the left hand, while the right touches its beak: 547 has the cloak clasped on the left shoulder. H. 0·20–0·16 m.
548. Votary or priest (Pl. 20), wearing a cap with long lappels covering the neck behind, under a wreath of erect leaves. Features of Hellenistic style. A folded tunic, with long sleeves, to the knees, is girt by a cord with long ends. Over both shoulders is a short foldless cloak tied across the breast. The right hand is raised, palm outwards, in adoration; the left, by the side, holds a bird by the wings. The feet are missing. H. 0·40 m.
549. Votary in harder stone than usual, and full Hellenistic style; nude except for a cloak over the left shoulder, and modelled behind. Head, right arm, and feet missing; the left hand holds an incense-box, and a bird by the wings. Much red paint on the cloak. Compare Voni (*CMC* 5063). (Pl. 21). H. 0·35 m.
550, 551. Fragments of similar figures. H. 0·25, 0·17 m.
552–86. Votaries in late Hellenistic style (Pl. 20, and 21), in tunic and cloak, with flat cap (552–8) like the heads 319–96 on wreath. The arrangement of the cloak varies, and the hands hold a dove, an apple (560), or both (564), or one hand or both (581–4) are wrapped in the cloak; 586 wears sandals. H. 0·40–0·13 m.
587. Female votary in long folded tunic and cloak over both shoulders: the right hand, on the breast, holds a flower. H. 0·12 m.

Various Fragments.

588. *Hands* from larger statues, some more than life-size, wearing rings and holding a bird, incense-box, scroll (cf. Voni *CMC* 5065), or drapery.

589. *Feet* barefoot, or in shoes or sandals, from similar statues: one has a snake bangle a little above the ankle of right foot.
590. Heads of lions, goats, or monsters, and one female head, from similar lyres, or from the arms of thrones (Pl. 20); all of Graeco-Roman work. Compare *Cesn.* 1265 in oriental style.
591. A lyre with eight strings, and Silenus head on one of the uprights, broken from a larger statue (Pl. 20): compare *Cesn.* 1176.
592. Head of a bull, much defaced. L. 0·20 m.
593. Base of a lion or sphinx (Pl. 20) with powerful claws; formed by a capital slightly expanded above, and adorned with three rows of Egyptian lotus-buds, below a row of *Hathor*-floral capitals supporting palmettes, with incurved volutes like those on stelae from Idalion (*Cesn.* 1416–20) or elsewhere (*KBH* LVIII. 1–2, LIX. 1–2).

The sphinx, as emblem of Apollo, occurs at Voni (*CMC* 5156), Tamassos (*CMC* 6163–4, 6168), *Cesn.* 1086–9, and the tombstones *Cesn.* 1410–13.

Terracottas.

There was no clear evidence of an early stratum with terracotta figures, as on some Cypriote sites; only a few fragments of terracottas not much earlier than the first stone figures.

594. Head of a statuette of oriental style, with pointed head-dress entirely covering the hair, but displaying spiral ear-rings. The eyebrows are feathered. H. 0·13 m.
595. Small horses, of ' snow-man ' style. L. 0·06 m.
596. Centaur, with human forelegs, much damaged. Compare *Cesn.* 2063. H. 0·15 m.
597. Female votary in long tunic and cloak, on cylindrical base: Graeco-Roman style: hollow. H. 0·17 m.

Bronzes (Pl. 12).

598. Statuette of a male votary, in Egyptian head-dress, with small curls above the forehead. Short foldless tunic with short sleeves, girt with a belt from which hangs an Egyptian kilt with central panel, reaching to the knees. The left arm hangs by the side; the right is bent at the elbow and holds a flower (?). The left foot is advanced; the legs are bare and slightly modelled. Archaic Cypriote work of the sixth or late seventh century (Pl. 12,1). H. 0·21 m.
599. Four small oxen, cast solid: archaic work (Pl. 12, 2, 3, 4). L. 0·07 m.

THE TOPOGRAPHICAL HISTORY OF ENKOMI, SALAMIS, AND FAMAGUSTA

The great midland plain (*Mesariá*) of Cyprus opens eastward onto a wide bay, between the long rugged Karpass promontory which shelters it on the north, and the lower and less prominent headland of Cavo Greco terminating the rolling plateau of recent limestone which divides the Mesariá from the bay of Larnaca. But the plain does not open freely onto Famagusta bay. As the Pidias river approaches the coast, its flood plain is confined between spurs and outliers of the southern upland, on which Famagusta and its modern sequel Varósha stand, and a wider plateau, roughly triangular, between the sea front south of Trikomo, by the middle course of the Kháranka (so named in the *Trigonometrical Survey of Cyprus*, but the word is probably *Pháranga* (' ravine ') which is followed by the road from Lefkóniko to Trikomo, and by the Gephýria tributary of the Pidias which rises in the North Range, and crosses that road about two miles east of Levkóniko (p. 54–5 above), to join the main stream west of Styllos village about five miles from its mouth. The limestones of these two plateaux are continuous, and their more massive beds, dipping gently seawards, form the shelving reef-fringed coast from Famagusta northward, but present an abrupt escarpment westward facing up the Pidias valley. The gap in this escarpment, through which the whole Mesariá drainage passes, is only about a mile wide, and extends about two miles back from the sea.

On the northern bluff, which is precipitous, and about 50 feet high, stands the village of Enkomi (said to represent *Néa kómi*, ' new village '), overlooking the channel. South of the

river is a lower and narrower ridge, uninhabited, and continuous with the plateau south of the Mesariá plain. The village of Styllos, already mentioned, has a situation like that of Enkomi, on a more inland and more ragged spur of the northern tableland. Here the Swedish Expedition found Early Iron Age tombs described in *SCE* II 142 ff. (under the place-name *Stylli*) as ranging from Cypro-Geometric III A to Cypro-Archaic II A. Between the dip-slope of the Styllos spur and the escarpment west and north of Enkomi, a shallow valley, or bay of the Mesariá, about a mile wide, runs some three miles northward, almost to Límnia village, the name of which marks the former extension of marshy ground. South of the river mouth, the coast is a string of lagoons, and inland of the plateau edge on which Famagusta and modern Varósha stand, is a landlocked marsh formed by a stream which rises on the moors inland of Derínia and the Paralímni lakes, and runs for some miles parallel with the coast, reinforcing the natural glacis of Famagusta by a wide fosse along its landward front. North of the river, the escarpment edge sinks quickly east of Enkomi, till the coast road from Famagusta to Tríkomo is only 10 feet or so above sea-level. Then, seaward of the road, lies the chaotic tract of ruins, sand dunes, and recent forest which marks the site of ancient Salamis; its highest points, some 40 or 50 feet above the beach, on which the limestone reappears, still dipping seaward, in a fringe of reef, just awash. The sand dunes extend along the coast as far north as Tríkomo, but are nowhere as wide or so high as on the devastated site of Salamis.

From the sand dunes westward, the gentle dip-slope of the limestones is quite featureless as far as the villages of Enkomi and Límnia. Its escarpment west of Enkomi village is about 50 feet high, with some 20 feet of compact limestone at the top, resting on sandy marl, which washes out in the rains, and lets drop the limestone in a chaos of great blocks strewn along the talus. Towards Límnia the side valley already mentioned is less deeply eroded, the escarpment less precipitous, and the deposit of marly outwash thicker.

Northward, the country is practically level, with a very slight descent towards a tributary of the Kháranka stream, which drains very inadequately the slight hollow between Arnádhi and Spatharikó. Thus the region immediately north of the river mouth offers a larger, and in many ways a more commodious site for a seaport of the Mesariá than the ridge south of it, where mediaeval Famagusta and modern Varósha stand. The whole site, which may be taken as extending from Enkomi to Límnia, is about 2 miles wide, from the beach to the escarpment, and about 3 miles from Enkomi northwards. This, however, is only the citadel of a defensible home-territory; with its outworks on the escarpments of the whole northern plateau, from Styllos to Gýpsos and Sýnkrasi, and the deep channels of the Gephýria and Kháranka streams, which at their headwaters beyond Gýpsos are barely half a mile apart. Farther still, beyond the Gephýria stream, bridgehead positions, and a wide prospect over the Lefkóniko country and the whole Mesariá are offered by the ridge on which Peristeróna-Piyí lies, and by the conspicuous double outlier north of it. These rise to more than 200 feet, and dominate the line of the ancient road and aqueduct, which probably crossed the Gephýria near Mileá village, and gave this stream its name—'bridge stream'. The rock-cut tombs on the north end of the Peristeróna ridge are further indication of the road-line.

The ancient cemetery west of Enkomi has been often explored; by villagers in all ages; by Alexander di Cesnola (*Salaminia* 1882); by Messrs. Murray, Smith, and Walters for the British Museum (*Excavations in Cyprus* 1900 pp. 1–54), and since 1913 by the Swedish Expedition (22 tombs: *SCE* I 467–575 Pll. xxiv–xcii) under Dr. Einar Gjerstad in 1930; and by M. Claude F. A. Schaeffer (*Missions en Chypre* 1936 pp. 67–93).

The purpose of the Museum's excavations in 1913 in the neighbourhood of Salamis and Enkomi was to observe more precisely the conditions under which the rich Bronze Age tombs opened on behalf of the British Museum were discovered, and to determine the connection between these tombs and other remains on the site. The search for undisturbed tombs in the great necropolis was quite unsuccessful. The lower part of this area is notoriously water-logged, but it was hoped that by working at the end of the dry season, tombs might be found dry which were flooded at other times. But the necessity of dealing at once with the new-found site at Lefkóniko cost three precious weeks; the weather broke prematurely with continuous rainstorms, on the morrow of arrival at Enkomi, and when, after many disappointments, one deep and little-damaged tomb was found, the water was already rising within it, and prevented further work.[1] With an earlier start, better weather, and a powerful pump, something might still be done on this lower margin of the site; and some of M. Schaeffer's tombs were quite as far from the escarpment as ours, and the Swedish excavation area even further. But the Swedish Expedition, working further to the noth-west, and earlier in the season (June–July 1930), met the same hindrance from water in the tombs.

The cemetery area is divided among several peasant-owners, in strips from the escarpment to the marsh; and of these the most southerly, owned by the *Muktar* of Enkomi, had not been touched by the British Museum's excavators. It had the reputation of being ' full of foundations ', and it was a fixed belief of Enkomi workmen that ' the best tombs were found under a wall ', as would be expected if a settlement had spread over an older cemetery. The ' Muktar's field ' was indeed ' full of foundations ', some of fine squared masonry, others of rubble with older ashlar-blocks built in; but all had been looted for building material, and devastated by tomb-diggers' shafts. There was a good deal of domestic pottery, of unfamiliar types, but no trace of tombs. The house-walls certainly stood in some relation to the line of very large stones which bounds the ' Muktar's field ' towards the main valley; they were the remains of a massive terrace wall, backed by an artificial deposit of stiff clay (κῶννος); they were certainly not Byzantine nor Graeco-Roman, and seemed to represent part of the Bronze Age settlement to which the cemetery belonged. But there was then no domestic pottery of the Bronze Age in Cyprus with which the ware we found could be compared, and we reluctantly put the ' Muktar's field' and its perplexing contents to a suspense-account.

The Swedish Expedition in 1930 was able to distinguish two layers of buildings, but regarded them both as Byzantine (*SCE* I 468), as indeed they probably were, so far towards the north-west. But doubt was expressed (*l.c.* 467) whether the great wall had any connection with the cemetery, as most of the Swedish tombs lay beyond it.

Later, M. Schaeffer was more fortunate. He recognised the necks of large vases, which had been re-used for well-heads in the houses, as of Cypro-Mycenaean type, and could compare them with vase-necks similarly re-used at Ras Shamva; and in one of the house-foundations he found a hoard of bronze implements and household gear, which made the Cypro-Mycenaean date of the whole settlement certain (*Missions archéologiques en Chypre*, 1936, pp. 83–93).

Disappointed in the ' Muktar's field ', all we were able to do was to clear the few standing stones, farther north, which marked the line of a great wall like that of the terrace already mentioned, and eventually abutted on the escarpment a little north-east of the ruined church of Agios Yákovos, where a built ramp marked the ascent of a wide road onto the plateau.

[1] It is therefore not quite exact that we left Enkomi ' without finding any tombs ' (*SCE* I. 467). The Swedish Expedition sunk 200 pits and found 22.

Summarising now the indications given by archaeological work hitherto, we can reconstitute the human history of the Salaminian site, as follows.

I. Of the Early Bronze Age we have as yet no certain traces, for the Bronze Age objects in the Lawrence–Cesnola Collection were not necessarily from Salamis, or even from its immediate neighbourhood: *Album of Antiquities excavated by Major Alexander Palma di Cesnola*, London (Holmes) 1881 (photographs with printed text).

II. Of the Middle Bronze Age there was already a settlement on the escarpment northwest of Enkomi, with tombs (1913) containing 'Black Punctured Ware', and a coarse local fabric of White Painted Ware. The great roadway was not yet built, for one of these tombs lay under it. M. Schaeffer's Tomb 11 (*Missions* p. 65–9 fig. 30 Pl. xxxi) is typical of this phase, which he rightly regards as marking an immigration from Syria; and in 1894 I had found tombs with the same 'Black Punctured Ware' at Kalopsída south of the Pidias (*JHS* XVII 138–47).

III. In the Later Bronze Age this earlier settlement was transformed into a rich Cypro-Mycenaean city. The great roadway was built and the massive wall below the escarpment, and the settlement extended over a large part of the area enclosed by the wall. Later changes have destroyed all traces of this city above the escarpment, and the breaking back of the cliff has exposed and destroyed many of its chamber-tombs. In one of these a fragment of a large wheelmade vase bore a scratched inscription in the Cypro-Mycenaean script (Myres, *Man* 1934, 26, and *Palace of Minos* IV 752, fig. 741).

This settlement lasted long, from about 1400 B.C. to about 1200 B.C. or even later, and its later buildings seem to have encroached on earlier burial-places, carrying with them a good deal of surface soil from the upper part of the slope. The latest tombs on this site belong to the beginning of the Period of Transition from Bronze to Iron.

If we compare the position of this settlement and its burials, withdrawn from the sea, and facing inland on a defensible site, with the distribution of contempoary burials round the Salt Lake behind Larnaca, which formerly lay open to the sea, like the lower valley of the Pidias above its narrow exit (sketch-map *JHS* XVII, 149, fig. 6), we are brought to the conclusion that the choice of both these sites was deliberate, and due to similar causes in each case. As the civilisation of both settlements was predominantly Mycenaean (using this term to denote that variety of Aegean civilisation which originates on the Greek mainland in the Late Minoan periods I and II and spreads widely over the Mediterranean coasts in Late Minoan III), and as these Cypro-Mycenaean settlements are shown by the contents of their tombs to have been in frequent intercourse with Egypt and the Syrian coast, it seems likely that they were planned as harbour-towns, using respectively the Salt Lake at Larnaca and the mouth of the Pidias river. The latter, after many centuries of neglect and ill-regulated agriculture up-country, and perhaps also of diminished or more spasmodic rainfall, has become silted nearly to the coast-line; but even now there is a slight indentation at its mouth, and much less submarine delta than off the mouth of the far smaller Kháranka stream. It may be inferred that before the present marshes east of the gap in the escarpment were formed, the river channel as far as Enkomi was kept scoured, much as the Mersey is, by the alternate flow of floodwater outwards, and of seawater inward in the dry season, to make good the loss by evaporation. This consideration will also explain the present saltness of the lower Mesariá. Until, therefore, the advancing delta came abreast of Enkomi, there was access for boats to the marly slope below the escarpment, and perhaps even some way into the side valley between Enkomi and Styllos. Some such risk of erosion will explain the very massive construction of the terrace wall which bounds the south side of the Muktar's field. The

Cypro-Mycenaean city, that is, lay with its back to the sea, and faced up the Mesariá plain, as Cypro-Mycenaean Larnaca faced away from the present Skala frontage, and dominated the coast plain towards Stavrovouni. Both, like Boston, New Haven, and New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore, were the homes of men who had come to stay and to enjoy their new abodes in peace.

IV. But to the Cypro-Mycenaean site at Enkomi—which came to an end, as M. Schaeffer's researches have since confirmed, without any trace of Early Iron Age culture—succeeded the Hellenic Salamis on the sea-front, as Phoenician Kition succeeded the Cypro-Mycenaean Larnaca. Greek tradition assigned its foundation to Teukros, brother of Aias, and dated it shortly after the Trojan War—that is to say, in the early part of the twelfth century. In later tradition, Teukros is also the name of the eponymos of the Teukroi, a Hellespontine people of European origin, akin to the Phrygians. The connecting link with Teucrian Salamis is probably supplied by the Tikkara, who are repeatedly mentioned in Egyptian documents of the XX and XXI Dynasties as dangerous sea-raiders, with a settlement eventually at Dor on the Palestinian coast. That the same piratical folk should have visited Cyprus, too, is to be expected. That they should have established themselves on the sea front of the Mesariá in only what other forcible invaders of Cyprus have attempted sooner or later—Saracens, Genoese, Turks, and the English Government with its port at Famagusta, and railway thence to Nicosia. That they should have been held aloof by the occupants of the Enkomi site, and at first confined to the sea front, is in any case likely; and it is certain that the sea-raiders of the Early Iron Age, unlike Minoan and Homeric navigators, shunned inlets, and preferred open sea-beaches where they could draw their ships ashore, and launch them promptly if they were forced to retire. Similarly at Larnaca, the settlements and cemeteries around the Salt Lake were deserted for the open beach and mere boat-cove below the Bamboula Hill, which began to be occupied in the earliest phase of the Iron Age, and became later the headquarters of Phoenician exploitation, as Salamis was of Hellenic. For confirmatory evidence on this point see pp. 94–5 below.

LÁPITHOS (LAMPOUSA: ACHEIROPOIÉTOS): ACROPOLIS DEVASTATED BY QUARRYING

WITH PLATES 22, 23

The North Range of Cyprus is a long, narrow, rugged ridge of hard steeply-inclined limestones, flanked southwards by coarse grits and sandstones, also steeply-inclined. On both sides of the range the lower slopes consist of later and softer limestones and marls, which overlie the rocks of the range unconformably, and have not been much disturbed since they were formed. The contrast is very marked between (1) the rugged peaks and spurs of the mountains, which run up, barren or sparsely forested, to more than 3000 feet, with passes as low as 1000 feet; (2) the dry brown barren 'hummocks' of the grits and sands, and (3) the light soil and great local fertility of the recent lowlands. This fertility depends, however, directly on the water supply; and as the greater part of the rainfall of Cyprus seems to come up from the south-west, and is liable to be intercepted by the hills, the north coast depends mainly on the discharge of the hill rainfall in springs, which break out at intervals along the upper margin of the later limestones, particularly if they are marly, and cut steep-sided torrent beds which widen seawards, and have formed alluvial coast deposits here and there. At present the north coast is moderately depressed, and there is but little accumulation of

such deposits about the stream-mouths; but the level has not altered materially since classical times, and the sea, which can be violent in a north wind, has begun to cut low cliffs into the gentle seaward slopes of the limestones. Only here and there is there a minute fishing-cove or anchorage. Kerynia port is such a drowned torrent-mouth, and Lápithos was another.

The human occupation of the north coast depends, as will be obvious, on two chief factors in this physical regime: the water supply, and the means of access to the sea and to the Mesariá plain beyond the North Range. From the Frankish occupation onwards, the only considerable centre has been at Kerynia, nearly due north of Nicosia, where a low but very defensible pass, the 'Hole in the Hill' (Trýpa Vounoú),[1] descends, by one of the largest of the ravines, upon the best natural harbour. But this ravine contains no great spring, and conveys surface water mainly; and it is only by the fortunate accident that it now reaches the sea a long mile east of the harbour, that Kerynia is safe from the wash-outs which ever threaten Limassol. The fertility of Kerynia, in fact, depends not on the ravine water, but upon springs further west, and it is upon these springs, and the old gardens which they fed, that the Byzantine fortress of St. Hilarion, on the precipitous ridge which masks the pass on the north, depended for supplies as well as for water to supplement its rain-tanks. At best, Kerynia is rather a port and a market than an agricultural centre. The fertility of its surroundings is not greatly above the average of the whole coast.

Between 6 and 7 miles west of Kerynia, however, a very different state of things begins. The main ridge draws nearer to the coast, and becomes higher and steeper, till at 11 miles from Kerynia the peak called Kórnos reaches 3106 feet and is only 2½ miles from the sea. At the foot of the principal slope, which for several miles east of Kórnos is precipitous, are several copious springs, comparable with those of Kythraea on the south slope, and among the most famous water-supplies of the island. At the present time the gardens and plantations which they irrigate extend northward for nearly 2 miles, and over nearly as great a frontage this effluent reaches the sea, supporting large reed-beds wherever irrigation is incomplete. This region, then, has always been one of the paradises of Cyprus, and, like Kythraea, might be expected to offer a complete sequence of human settlement and endeavour. The modern townships of Lápithos and Karavás, which lie immediately below the great springs, and straggle through the gardens to less than a mile from the coast, are among the largest and most prosperous of the island. One may compare them with that other Greek paradise, around Aspendiú and Pýlli on the north flank of the Díkaios ridge in Cos.

Below Karavás village, an ancient site on the sea front, called Lámpousa, clearly represents a town of considerably larger extent than Kerynia, bounded westward by a shallow bay with a beach, commodious except in north-westerly winds. The name Lápithos or Lápathos goes back to classical times, when it denoted a city in this district, reputed to be a colony from Laconia, and probably regarded as coeval with the Laconian colonies of Melos, Thera, and the west of Crete. To this settlement belong the Early Iron Age (Cypro-Geometric) tombs from an illicit excavation [*CMC* p. 8 and nos. 387, 434, 435, 442; *KBH* CLVII 2 *c-f*: *a* is in the Berlin Antiquarium; Dümmler, *Mitth. Ath.* XI 289] and the cemeteries excavated at Kylistra, Agia Anastasia, Kastros, and Plakes, high on the hillside, by the Swedish Expedition (*SCE* I pp. 162–276).

For a long while, the ancient site at Lámpousa has been habitually pillaged for building materials, and from time to time notable finds of Byzantine age have been made among the

[1] Mr. Dikaios states that the name is also given to the peak south-west of Bellapais: Bellamy and Browne, *The Geology of Cyprus*.

ruins. During the Turkish administration, a jewelled cross was found on the top of the highest mound, near the middle of the south edge of the site; in 1883 a fine set of jewellery, consisting of two gold bracelets, two finger rings, and two pairs of gold earrings, one chased, the other set with amethysts and pearls, was acquired by the Cyprus Museum (*CMC* 4891–97) about a mile from Kerynia (Myres, *Reliquary and Illustrated Archaeologist* March 1898).

Before 1894, the late Inspector of Antiquities, Mr. Evstathios Konstantinides, had completely cleared the rock-cut chapel called Acheiropoiétos, near the west end of the site. And about 1900, in the foundations of a ruined church near the sea, nearly north of the highest mound, a very rich collection of silver vessels was found by people from Karavás. Four pieces from this were seized by the police, and are in the Cyprus Museum; some of the silver spoons were acquired by the British Museum; but the best pieces were bought in Paris by Pierpont Morgan, and are in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. In consequence of what may conveniently be described as the Morgan Hoard, the whole site was proclaimed an ' ancient monument ' under the Antiquity Law of 1905 (B. M. *Cat. Early Christian Antiq.* Nos. 397–424: Dalton, *Byz. Art and Archaeology*, 572: *Early Chr. Art*, 328).

The objects of the investigation undertaken by the Cyprus Museum in 1913 were two-fold: (1) to examine the site at Lámpousa, and determine its age, quality, and state of preservation, and in particular to ascertain whether it deserved systematic excavation; and (2) to discover the distribution of tombs and other remains throughout the district, as the first step towards reconstructing a continous history of the human occupation of this exceptionally favoured locality, for comparison with the record already available for an analogous district round Kythraea, on the south side of the range.

Operations began with the complete excavation of the north face of the highest mound at Lámpousa (Pl. 22, 2). Then, when the work here was already nearly finished, the chance discovery of a rich Bronze Age necropolis, at the extreme north west of the district, gave exceptional opportunity for the other kind of enquiry (pp. 78–85 below).

THE ANCIENT SITE AT LAMPOUSA

North of the village of Karavás, the coastline projects half a mile seaward in a flat-fronted promontory nearly 2 miles wide, with a sea cliff rising in places to 20 or 25 feet. This is the front of a bed of sandy limestone, rather higher and drier than most of the coast land west of Kerynia, and more like the similar plateau on which Kerynia itself is built. It runs back southward, rising gently for about 2 miles, till it is dominated by a spur of the North Range west of the villages of Motídhes and Palaiósophos. It is bounded on the east by the Kalembóri River, which comes down past Phtérycha and Elaiá, reaches the sea at Apóstolos Andréas, and is intersected near its eastern edge by the parallel stream from Motídhes and Palaiósophos which runs out in the eastern horn of the promontory. Westward it is bounded by the large perennial stream which is fed by the Karavás springs, in the ravines west of Palaiósophos, and is intersected likewise near its western edge by a smaller watercourse which rises in the spur west of Motidhes and skirts the east edge of Karavás village, running out just east of the western horn of the promontory.

Between this stream and the mouth of the Karavás river the ancient site occupies the whole seafront, which here faces sufficiently north-west to break the worst swell (which comes from the north-east) and even to form a small deep fishing cove under its western end, where the monastery of Acheiropoiétos stands, and a deeply worn roadway descends from the plateau to sea-level. For the limestone plateau ends rather abruptly at this point, so

that the last half-mile of the Karavás river lies under an escarpment of the limestone, with a long stretch of alluvial flats and open beach westward to the second Lápithos river. Then comes about a mile of older alluvial plain, lying 10–20 feet higher and eroded seawards into a low cliff, in front of Lápithos village, the irrigated lands of which come down to the sea-front, the effluent falling into the sea over a low cliff. Then the limestone reappears forming a gently sloping plateau which dips to sea-level beyond the chapel of Ag. Theódoros, in the north-west corner of the irrigated ground.

From this account of the foreshore, it will be clear that the Karavás and Lápithos rivers have long been engaged in silting up the re-entrant angle between the north-west-facing escarpment of the plateau where Lampousa stands, and the line of the limestone foreshore beyond Ag. Theódoros, which faces a few points east of north, and (if produced eastward) would cut the escarpment nearly half-way from Acheiropoiétos Monastery to the Karavàs post office on the high road. The value of the little cove at Acheiropoiétos has therefore

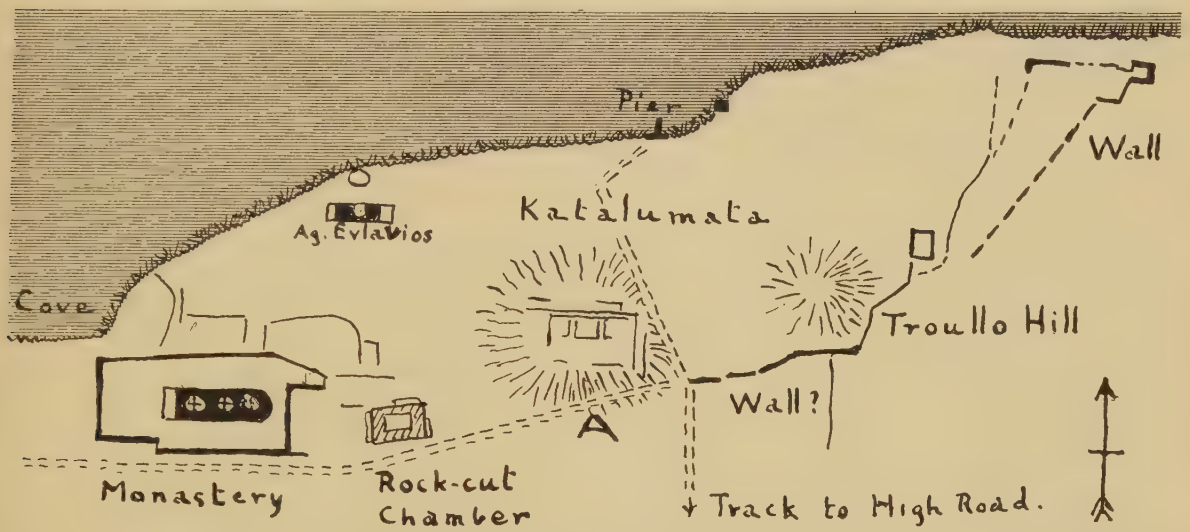


Fig. 2.—Sketch Plan of Town Site at Lampousa with Acheiropoiétos Monastery: A = 'Acropolis' excavated in 1913.

probably diminished considerably with the lapse of time; and intense cultivation of the alluvial tract has probably increased the rate of silting. Certainly in the rainy weather of November and December 1913 a good deal of soil was being carried off the fields and spread along this stretch of the coast.

The continuous ruin-field extends now from the seafront about half a mile south of the Lampousa promontory, and the same distance east of the fishing cove, over a roughly triangular area bounded by the stream already mentioned, and by the cultivated lands and the cart-road from the cove to Karavás. Eastward, beyond the stream, a trial excavation showed late tombs, so that here we were already clear of the town, and probably its defences followed the steep west bank of this stream. Southward, the ancient city probably extends under the cultivated land; and in 1913 a recent cutting close to the seaward road, a few yards north of the last houses of Karavás, had revealed a substantial mass of masonry, and a late inscription recording a refortification of the city in the Byzantine Age:

ἐκτίσθη τὰ τείχη ἐπὶ Λεοντίου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ὑπάρχου . . . .

At present, most of the site is nearly level, with a shallow depression running across it from east to west, and a small acropolis rising rather abruptly near the middle of its south edge, nearly opposite the straight road which runs north from Karavás, and turns west to the cove along the seaward edge of the cultivated land. But this apparent uniformity has been produced artificially; for we were able to show that this summit is but the core of a much larger ridge, which has been deeply quarried, but once ran westward to include the rock-cut chapel at Acheiropoiétos overlooking the cove (Pl. 22, 1). The mass of rock, in which the chapel is cut, is in fact the core of the west end of this ridge; and other upstanding rock walls and hummocks of limestone are to be seen between it and the ' acropolis-mound '. Eastward the mound known as ' Troullos ' Hill (τρούλλος = *a dome*) seems to be a similar relic of the same ridge.

The whole ruin-field is covered with piles of earth and rubble, the result of persistent search for stones and treasure. Among them project many bits of rubble walls, occasional angles of late masonry, and in the neighbourhood of the former ' acropolis-ridge ' the masses and walls, already noted as cut in live rock and completed in late walling. The top of the ' acropolis-mound ' was nearly flat, partly natural rock, partly old quarry-scars, partly a tangle of party walls of rock and rubble, obstructed by heaps of loose stones.

The north and west faces (Pl. 22, 2) rose less abruptly, and seemed deeply imbedded in rough walling and heaps of debris. Low down near the south-east corner a large loot-pit had struck a rock-face like the *dromos* of a tomb.

The east face (Pl. 22, 3) was cut away vertically, and showed a row of artificial cavities, like late rock-tombs, and above them the rock-cut emplacements for a set of floor joists, as though a house had been built against the vertical face after quarrying had broken into the tombs. Nearly in front of this was the deepest loot-pit on this part of the site, going down about 10 feet from the present surface, and partly choked with debris and vegetation.

Only on the north side, therefore, did the ' acropolis-mound ' seem to be comparatively undisturbed, with a long even slope of debris and dusty soil. At the base of this slope, it is true, and at the north-west angle, there were deep loot-pits exposing cut faces of rock, like tomb *dromoi*, but there seemed a better chance here than elsewhere of discovering the sequence of deposits, at small cost. We had also, close at hand, the deep loot-pit on the east face of the hill, by which we could attack the lower layers without waiting for the removal of the upper. In this way we had available a total thickness of some 40 feet of deposit.

We had no railway, and indeed the work which we planned did not require one; and by careful arrangement of our barrow roads we were able to put a large number of men to work after the first day, and run out our spoil on high-level and low-level dumps, into the nearest loot-pits. By these economies of time and transport, in ten days we had the north face clear down to ground level, and a large excavation at the north-east angle to about 20 feet below it.

But the result was disappointing. The upper part of the ' acropolis-mound ' was of solid rock, deeply dissected by house-basements with rock-cut doors and staircases; there were late chamber-tombs on the eastern face; and deep quarries on the northern (Pl. 23, 1, 2) filled with quarry-debris and a diminishing quantity of Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman pottery. There was no perceptible stratification, for the quarries were of the latest classical period, and had cut away everything earlier. This was the more disheartening, as in addition to a gypsum cornice (Pl. 23, 3) red-glazed ' Samian ' ware, stamped OFVI and L. NON. F, painted Hellenistic pottery, late terracotta figures, and imitations of Attic black glaze ware from the fourth century onwards, there was a scrap of a fine black-figured ' eye '-kylix, some

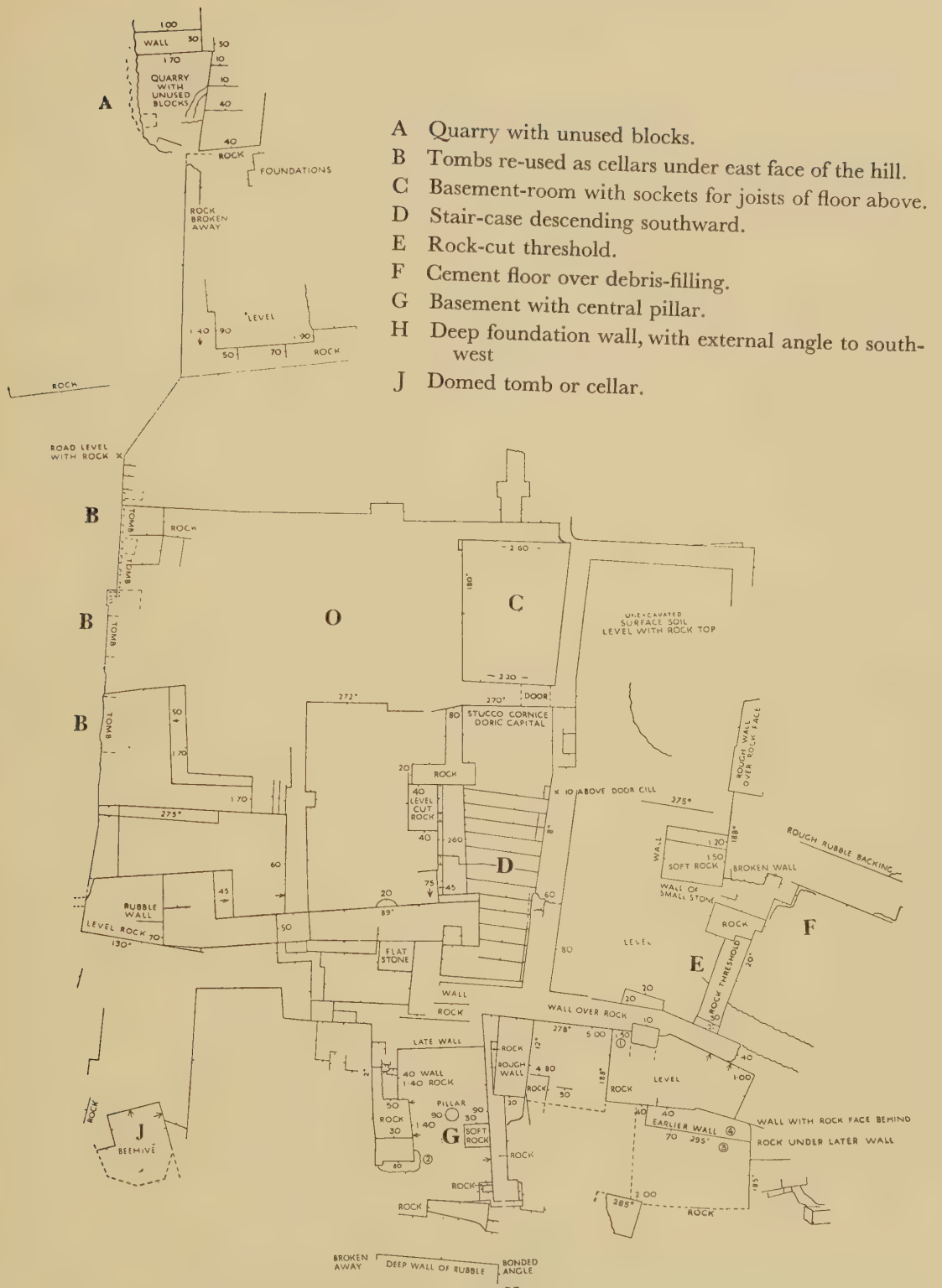


FIG. 3.—LÁPITHOS: SKETCH PLAN OF 'ACROPOLIS' OF LAMPOUSA.

The south is at the top. Levels are measured in metres downwards from point O on the summit of the hill. Scale about 1 : 150

Graeco-Phoenician ware of the Early Iron Age, fragments of Late Bronze Age fabrics—' base-ring ' ware with white paint—Middle Bronze Age painted ware, black on buff, a Bronze Age eyelet pin, and fragments of neolithic celts. Comparison with the chamber-tombs in the ' acropolis-mound ' made it certain that the miraculous church ' not made with hands ', which gives its name to the monastery, had been another such tomb in the west end of the ridge, rediscovered by quarrymen in Christian times, and converted to purposes of worship (Pl. 22, 1).

In these circumstances, the small finds (Pl. 23, 3–4) were negligible: in the absence of undisturbed stratification, even the Graeco-Roman and Byzantine fabrics, which were fairly copious, added nothing to knowledge. All that is certain about the Lampousa site is that (1) it was a small coast town in the Late Bronze Age and in Classical times; (2) that it cut into its own foundations for accommodation and building material; (3) that in the eleventh or twelfth century A.D. it was devastated by war or earthquake, and consequently may conceal other treasures like the Morgan Hoard; but only a complete clearance of the whole site could demonstrate this; and short of this, further excavation would be a gamble.

A BRONZE AGE CEMETERY AT LÁPITHOS

PLATES 24–9

As the excavation at Lampousa was coming to its close, news came that tombs of the Bronze Age had been found about a mile further west, in a field bounded by the coast; and leave was at once obtained to examine the site. During most of this excavation, Mr. Leonard Buxton was in charge, and this summary of results is collected from his tomb-plans and field notes, as war-service and other duties thereafter prevented him from preparing a formal report. All the objects from these tombs were sent to the Cyprus Museum, repaired by that skilful veteran, Loizo of Dali, and registered by Mr. Markides.

The same nearly level and fairly recent deposit of sandy limestone and calcareous sand as forms the acropolis at Akheiropoiétos, here forms the foreshore, with a low ragged cliff about 10 feet above sea-level, and a level surface of sandy soil for about a quarter of a mile inland, till it is smothered by sandy hill-wash, full of springs, and mostly planted with olives. There is a general view of the site in Schaeffer, *Missions en Chypre* 1936 Pl. iv. 3. East of the cemetery one or more of these springs breaks out in a copious stream—one of these, ' The Old Man's Spring ' (*Vrýsi tou Bárba*) gives its name to the locality—and the olives come down to the water's edge. In wet seasons, the ancient tombs are filled with water, and the empty pots have floated about in disorder, and were even occasionally found adhering to the marly roof, against which their buoyancy had pressed them. The bronzes and even the skeletons were less easily deranged, and much could still be learned about the disposal of the bodies and funerary gear. Mr. Markides continued to open tombs here in 1917, and many more were opened in 1927 by the Swedish Expedition (*SCE* I 33–162). Even these, however, were found in the same state of disorder, as the published plans show.

The Tombs

The harder limestone which caps the shore-cliff is about 2 feet thick, and tombs were easily excavated in the soft marl in which it rested. Only in some of the larger tombs had the limestone roof collapsed, and admitted surface soil to the chamber. One tomb even

contained the remains of a camel. The tombs were entered by a narrow passage (*dromos*), sometimes wider below than above, with a rectangular doorway (*stomion* in *SEC* descriptions) closed by a limestone slab. Sometimes there were one or more niches (*loculi*) in the sides of the *dromos*, containing supplementary furniture. The lintel of the doorway was usually level with the roof of the chamber, and its sill from 1 to 2 feet above the floor.

The chambers were usually circular or oval, of the size which a single workman could excavate sitting or kneeling. But many chambers had apsidal alcoves of various sizes, sometimes with their floor a step above that of the main chamber: and these alcoves usually contained burials. That these tombs were customarily re-used was clear not only from the number of skeletons more or less in place, but from one or more heaps of bones and pottery cast aside against the walls, and for the most part broken. Sometimes there had been an early fall of rock from the roof, separating the original occupant from subsequent burials.

As Mr. Buxton's descriptions of the tombs have been published already in Dr. Einar Gjerstad's *Studies on Prehistoric Cyprus* (Uppsala *Universitets Årsskrift* 1926), pp. 73–83, it is not thought necessary to reprint them here. His sketch-plans of a few of the least-disturbed tombs gave sufficient indication of their shape and equipment, and illustrated the varied postures of the bodies, and the disposition of the more important objects in regard to them.

Early Cypriote II

Single Burial. *Lápithos* 1. Along one side-wall were remains of a skeleton, along the other side the gifts to the deceased.

Lápithos 55*c*. The body was placed along the back wall of the tomb, with the head at the left side-wall, probably in a straight [extended] position. Four vessels were set on either side of the body, and others not far from the door.

Two or more burials. *Lápithos* 53. Two persons had been buried, one along the right, the other along the left side-wall of the tomb, with their heads towards the doorway. [Compare Lápithos 10 (EC. III). This is also the regular arrangement in tombs of the Graeco-Phoenician Iron Age and later.] All the vessels, of *Red Polished II Ware*, were placed behind the skull, between the two skeletons, except one bowl, which was placed close to the right side-wall, to the right of the skeleton, at a short distance from the skull.

Lápithos 60. Three persons had been buried, one along each side wall, the third along the back wall, with two distinct groups of tomb-gifts.

Lápithos 62. Two persons, one along the back wall, the other on the niche.

Early Cypriote III

Lápithos 10. Two (possibly three) persons: one to left, one to right, against the side-walls: to the left, semi-contracted on its left side; to the right, probably squatting.

Lápithos 12*a*. Two skeletons along the side-walls; a third, at the back wall, indicates quite convincingly the method of burial in a squatting position.

Lápithos 13. One corpse had fallen on another it was therefore placed in a squatting position, and collapsed later.

Lápithos 24. Two skeletons; one with the femora and tibiae parallel, and the head close by, indicating a cramped position.

Lápithos 201*b*. Of two skeletons, one was stretched on its back in the middle of the tomb; the other fragmentary.

Lápithos 205*a*. Two skeletons. To the right of the door was the skeleton of a middle-aged woman, propped up in a squatting position behind three stones. There was just room for a corpse in this position between the stones and the tomb-wall; both the forearms and legs were crossed, as would happen in falling from this position.

Middle Cypriote I

Lápithos 4. At least six burials. A fairly complete skeleton was lying on its side in a stretched [extended] position.

Lápithos 18*a*. Several burials. A fairly complete skeleton had the femora lying on the ossa innominata; another was curiously twisted, but the vertebra were not disturbed, which gives the impression that the body had fallen forward from a sitting position.

Lápithos 29. One skeleton was found in a huddled position: one scapula lay almost on the mandible, but the ribs were in order, and this position probably could not have been assumed if the body had been buried extended.

Lápithos 66. Three burials, one on a niche, one below it. Of the third, the skull was found near the entrance, but other bones farther up at the right side-wall; so the body was probably laid along this wall, with the head towards the door.

Lápithos 203*a*. At least four burials. The skull of one skeleton lay next to the sacrum, and beyond that one of the ossa innominata, showing that the corpse must have collapsed.

Disposal of the Bodies.—Thus most of the bodies lay in what is commonly known as the 'contracted posture', with knees up to the chin, common to neolithic and chalcolithic pre-dynastic Egypt, Crete and the Cyclades, Cyprus, Italy and Sicily, and other parts of the Mediterranean world. But this was not here due to the narrow dimensions of the chamber, and did not explain several divergences from the normal posture. Sometimes the legs were not fully flexed; one or other hand lay along the side of the body; the knees were spread apart in front of the pelvis, and the vertebral column and shoulder-blades had either collapsed in a heap on or around the pelvis, or lay prostrate, ribs and all, between the knees, or lay on one side of the pelvis as in the 'contracted posture' but out of all relation to the pelvis and legs. Usually the head remained associated with the upper vertebrae; but in one instance the skull lay in another part of the chamber, with ear-rings still adhering. This could only have happened if the head on becoming detached had sufficient momentum to roll to the place where it lay; that is to say, it fell from some height, namely from the top of an erect and coherent backbone, with the ears still carrying their ear-rings. All these anomalies are explained, if it is inferred that the bodies were buried *sitting*, and fell to pieces, some in one order and direction, some in another. Compare *SCE* I 472, 514, 543, 570 (at Enkomi).

Though this conclusion was a novelty for Cyprus, it is in accord with observations elsewhere. Colini concluded from similar evidence that some of the early Italian bodies at Remedello in the Po valley were exposed for a while, crouched or sitting, in the open cist grave, before it was filled or covered.[1] Orsi in Eastern Sicily found the bodies in communal or family chamber-tombs grouped on a low bench around a large open jar, as if at a festive meal.[2] It is not necessary to suppose that all bodies in the tombs at Lapithos were so arranged, and the lateral niches, like those in the larger tombs near Syracuse, were hardly high enough to hold a seated corpse, unless bound together like the seated bodies of pre-Columbian Peru. But the Swedish Expedition recorded similar indications in Bronze Age tombs (*SCE* I 37, 55, 79, 84, 89, 100), and the practice may now be regarded as established for Cyprus.

Race and Breed of the Occupants.—The human remains were in so good condition that Mr. Buxton was able to prepare by far the most thorough analysis that had yet been made of the physical anthropology of early Cyprus. As was to be expected from the geographical situation of the island, there were two strongly contrasted types; one, with cephalic index about 73, related to the widespread 'Mediterranean' group of breeds, from Egypt and primitive Palestine to Spain, essentially ancestral to the majority of the modern inhabitants, with oval head and face, and delicate modelling; the other (cephalic index 78–80) more massive in brow and jaw, with broad face, and skull either globular, or wide above the ears and flattened behind, like the 'Anatolian' inhabitants of Asia Minor, Armenia and Syria at all periods. But besides a long series of hybrid intermediates between these main breeds, there were other ingredients, notably a primitive low-crowned variety which recalled Egyptian representatives of Hittites and their allies in the Syrian campaigns of Rameses II in the thirteenth century, and probably of North Syrian origin, though their actual counterparts have not yet been discovered there, except as an ingredient in the modern peasantry, and in the palaeolithic cave at Tabgah in Galilee.

For anthropometric details it is sufficient to refer to Mr. Buxton's memoir in *Biometrika* XIII, and, for the primitive 'Australioid' variety, to W. L. H. Duckworth, *Studies from the Anthropological Laboratory*, Cambridge 1904 203–11, and Sir A. Keith, *Researches in Prehistoric Galilee* (Mem. Brit. Sch. Arch. Jerusalem 1927).

[1] Peet, *Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy*, 187, quoting Colini, *Bull. Paletn. Ital.* xxv, xxviii.
[2] Peet, *l.c.* 211; *BPIt.* xxvii.

Funerary Equipment (Pll. 24–9).—The furniture of the interments consisted, as usual, mainly of pottery, with copper implements of a few simple types, a few characteristic clay figures, small objects of bone, and occasional chains of paste beads. All these except the clay figures have been frequently described on other sites, and only the local variations need be noted here. The pottery fabrics are as described in the *Cyprus Museum Catalogue* and the *Cesnola Handbook*.

Pottery.—Two standard fabrics were represented in most of the tombs, (*a*) the older ' Red Polished Ware ', either plain or incised with simple ornament derived from basketry and straw-bindings; (*b*) the ' Black Slip Ware ', often dark grey or brown, with leathery surface, and ornament usually in low relief, but sometimes incised with a sharp point: the shapes are sometimes derived from the ' Red Polished Ware ', sometimes nearer akin to those of the next fabric; (*c*) the later ' White Painted Ware ' of the Middle Copper Age of Cyprus, usually of smaller dimensions than the older fabric, but very copious and variable in shape.

The foreign ' Black Punctured Ware ' which intrudes from Syria and Palestine into Middle Copper Age tombs at Kalopsída, Enkomi, and elsewhere, and belongs to the period of Hyksos domination at Tell-el-Jahudieh in Egypt, does not appear; but this absence is of less significance, because the north coast of Cyprus is secluded from south-eastern immigrants. Nor is there any example of the ' Unpainted White Ware ' which usually accompanies the ' Black Punctured Ware ' in Cyprus.

There was one example of the rare ' Black Glazed Ware with Red Paint '; its forms are close to those of the ' Red-Polished Ware ', but the clay under the black slip is light-coloured like the ' White Painted Ware ': the ornament imitates the lozenges or rectangles formed of parallel lines, which are characteristic of the ' Red Polished Ware '.

The leathery ' Base Ring Wares ' of the Late Copper Age are quite absent.

From these indications this cemetery may be securely dated in the Third Early (E.C. III) and First Middle (M.C. I) periods of the Copper Age, with a few tombs (1, 53, 60, 62) going back to E.C. II, and a few others (4, 18*a*, 29, 66, 203*a*) forward into M.C. II. Only a few tombs contained the very large bottles and amphorae characteristic of E.C. I and II, or vessels decorated in relief. Several, however, had vessels with the pointed base, which becomes common for a while at Vounous and elsewhere, in E.C. III. A more precise correlation is furnished by the spouted bowl of E.M. III ware with black geometrical ornament on buff, found on this or a neighbouring site by the mission of the University of Pennsylvania in 1931 (Casson, *Ancient Cyprus* p. 207. Compare V. Grace, *Am. Journ. Arch.* xliv. 10 ff.: CM Inventory 6A. 16). I saw the vase itself in the Cyprus Museum during a brief visit, and am satisfied that it is of Aegean and probably Cretan fabric.

Clay Figures of Women.—An unusual feature in this cemetery is the frequency of flat rectangular slabs of Red Polished Ware (Pl. 26, *2*; Fig. 4, T. 201, 43 ; Fig. 5) surmounted at one end by one or two narrower rectangles, on which are incised the features and necklaces of a female head. Usually the nose is modelled in relief, and sometimes the outward ear is a perforated lug like those on the smaller vessels. Where there are two heads, they are usually joined between the ears. The surface of the body is decorated with transverse bands of incised zigzags or lozenges, through which the breasts project: below the neck there are sometimes V-shaped or crescent-shaped bands of similar ornament, for necklaces or drapery. One smaller figure (T. 21) has large ears projecting from a better-modelled head, with a turban about a point above, and the left arm is shown in relief, obliquely downwards across the body. A still smaller one (T. 201) carries an infant in both arms. A similarly rectangular object (T. 201) is composed of three upright bars and two cross-bars, with a third missing below: the middle

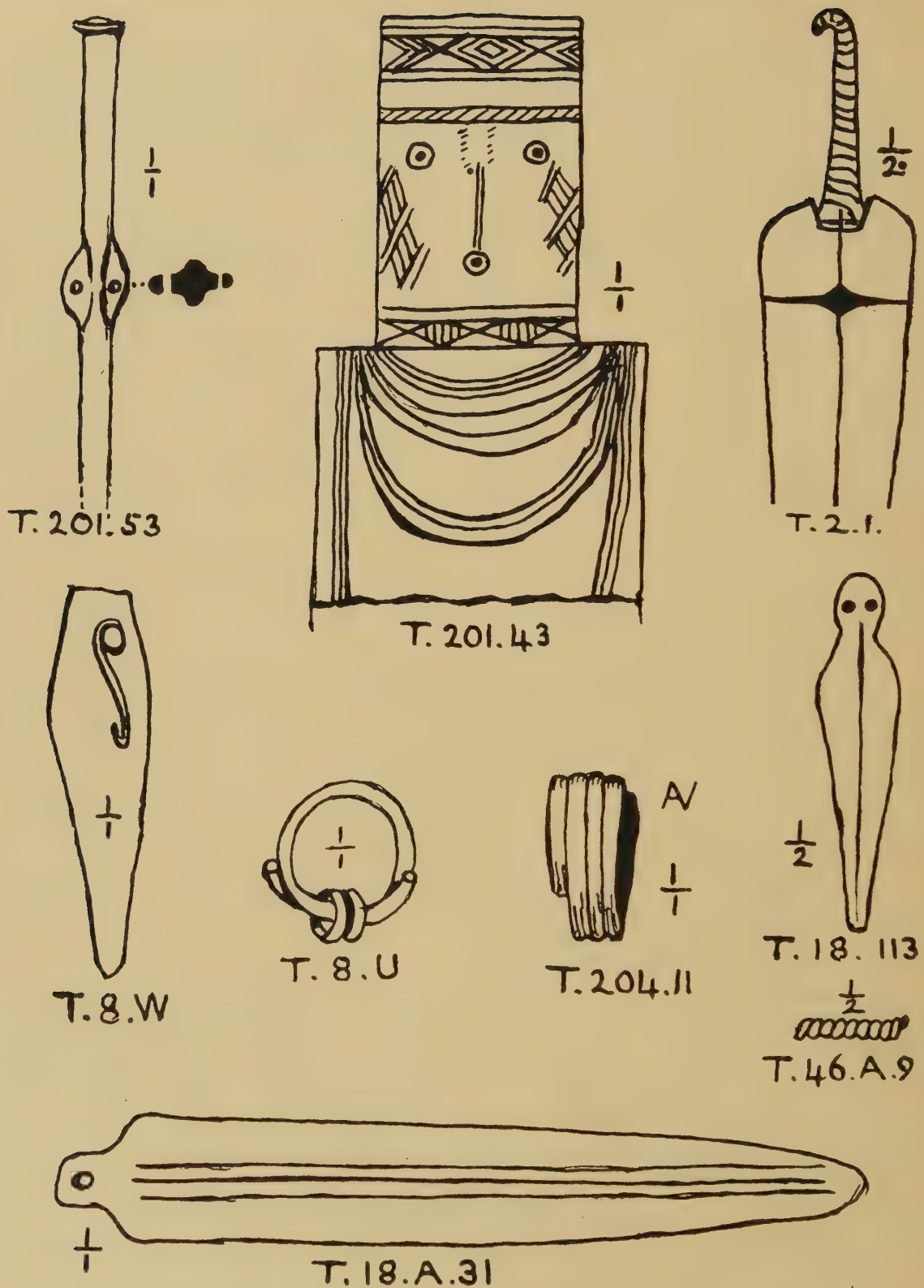


FIG. 4. OBJECTS FROM TOMBS AT LAPITHOS, EXCAVATED NOVEMBER 1913.
Numerals refer to the Cyprus Museum Inventory.

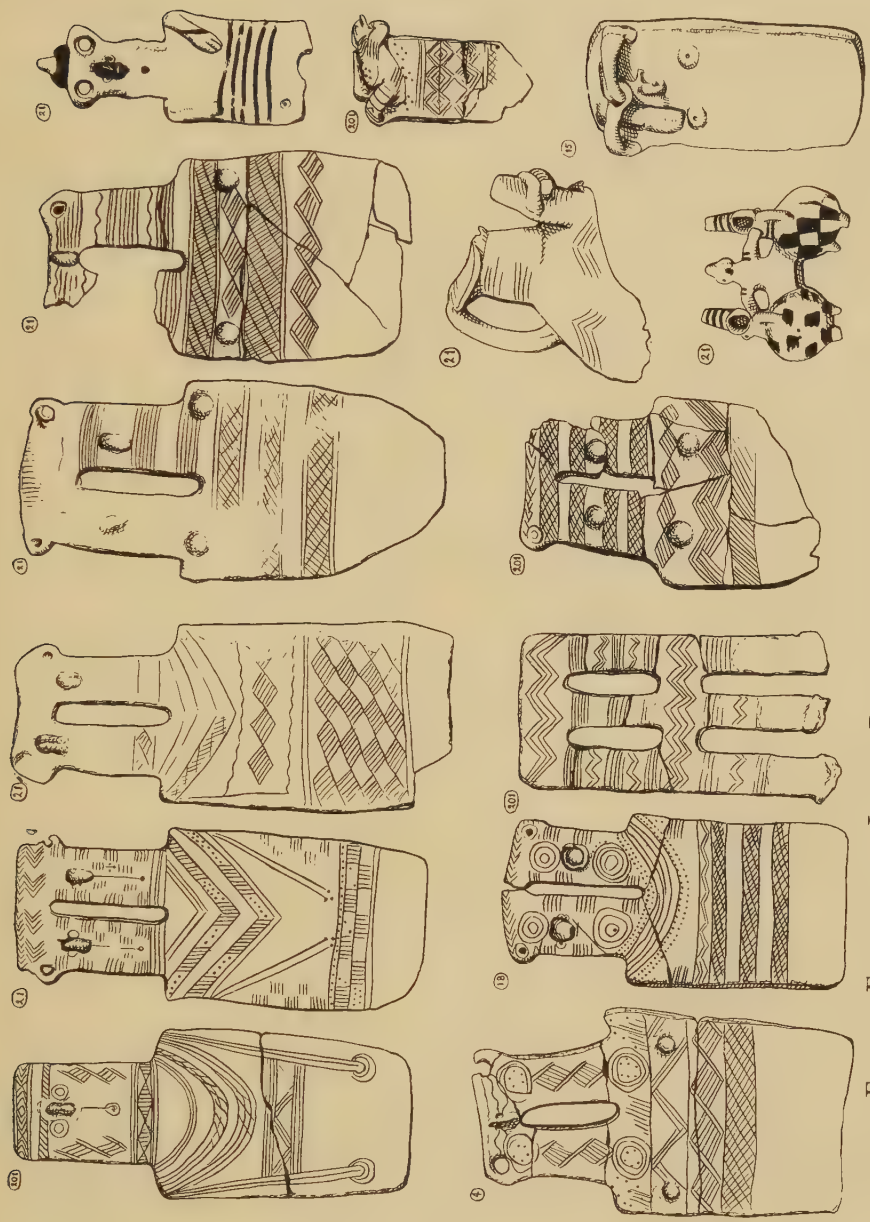


FIG. 5. FIGURINES OF INCISED REDWARE FROM COPPER-AGE TOMBS AT LAPITHOS.

Numbered by tomb-groups. Some are two-headed, but in 4 and 18 there is only one eye and one breast in each bust. To the right are other figurines; 21 in white painted ware (top and bottom), 21 middle, redware figure on jug, as if holding an infant; 201 (incised) and 15 (plain buff clay) hold infants.

Drawn by Miss A. M. Calverley from photographs.

cross-bar is moulded in front, but defaced. It may represent a woman in a high-backed seat, carrying a child. Compare *SCE* I, pl. xviii–xxvi.

Another rectangular slab (T. 15) has two semicircular loops projecting at right angles, and within them two roughly modelled rolls of clay. They may be infants in a hooded cradle, or embraced in the arms of a mother otherwise aniconic.

Similar figures have been found in contemporary tombs elsewhere in Cyprus, and no doubt represent a Mother-Goddess or a pair of Goddesses like Demeter and Persephone at Eleusis. Two-headed figures are also found in early tombs in Central Anatolia (Ankara Museum).

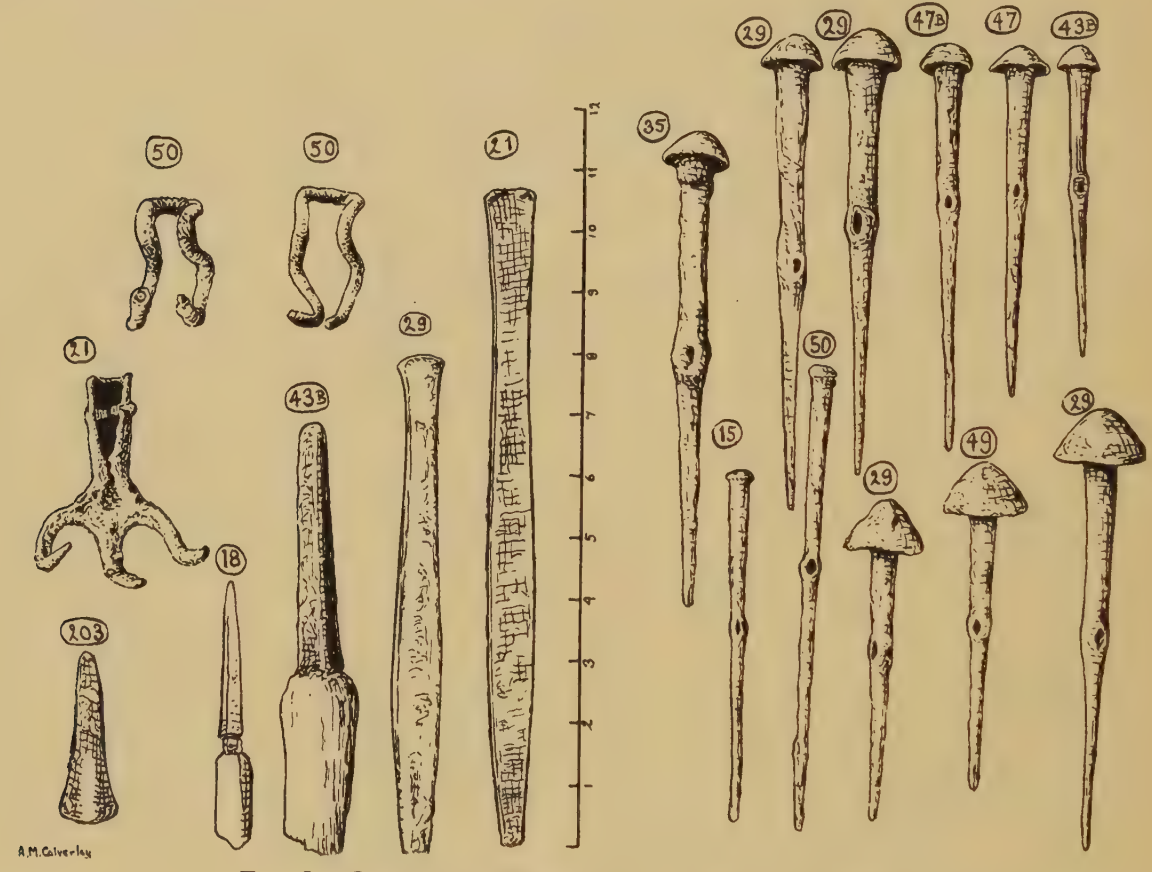


Fig. 6. Objects of Copper from Tombs at Lápithos.

Copper Implements.—These were numerous, and in unusually good condition. Those figures in Pl. 24, 25, 26 and Figs. 4 and 6 are identified by their tomb-numbers. Besides the customary flat adze-blades (Pl. 42, 1), leaf-shaped daggers (Pl. 26, 1), longer daggers or spears with mid-rib and hooked tang (Pl. 24, 2), and pins, plain (Pl. 25, 3) or mushroom-headed with perforated stem (Pl. 25, 2), and tweezers (Pl. 25, 1), there were several well-made needles (Pl. 25, 3), long narrow chisels (Pl. 24, 3), ' meat-hooks ' for suspension (Pl. 24, 3, 50), a ' flesh hook ' (Pl. 21, 50) for serving boiled meat from a pot, notable for its partially tubular socket; and several rings or ear-rings of thin wire twisted on itself for fastening (T. 8. u). There were several thick spirals of base silver, as usual in tombs of this period, found sometimes on or

by the skull, and used therefore as ear-rings or hair-binders. There was one small ring of thin gold wire (T. 209. 11, Fig. 4). There was one collection of the globular paste beads with pale blue glaze—a XII Dynasty type—which are fairly common in Middle Copper Age tombs (cf. Gjerstad, *Studies*, p. 268; *SCE* I. pl. cxlix, 20), and a few very small disk-beads, of dark stone or shell: no sealstones, scarabs, or cylinders.

When the number of shafts, most of them rewarded by a tomb, passed 200, it was clear that this cemetery, though of considerable extent, was of rather limited range in time, from Early Copper Age II to Middle Copper Age III, and that its main characteristics had been sufficiently established for our purpose. While the excavation was going on, much information was collected about casual finds in other periods, which was at the disposal of the Cyprus Museum, and in due course of the Swedish Expedition, and of the University of Pennsylvania. Lápithos evidently had a long and prosperous career in prehistoric as well as in classical times.

THE BAMBOULA HILL AT LARNACA

PLATE 30

The Bamboula Hill lies in open ground between Scala and Old Larnaca, about 100 yards north-west of the Roman Catholic Convent, and about 30 yards east of the road which runs past the front of the Convent into Old Larnaca. Another track, which diverged in 1913 from this road at the Convent, and led to the village of Livadhia, separated the Bamboula Hill site from the Bamboula Marsh, which extended nearly as far east as the carriage road from Scala to Famagusta.

The Bamboula Hill was once of much greater extent than now, and was described by old residents as having had a steep slope towards the marsh. It was on or in the Bamboula that the inscribed conquest-stele of Sargon was found in 1845, which is in the Berlin Museum.[1] But soon after the British occupation (1878) a large part of the hill was cut away and thrown into the marsh, which was stagnant and dangerous to health.[2] No accurate record seems to have been kept of this operation, in the course of which a number of ancient objects are said to have been found; among them the fine early Ionic capital, of grey limestone, now in the Cyprus Museum.[3] Another portion of the hill, of less extent, was used for the same purpose more recently: but of this also there was no accurate record.

It is commonly believed that the Bamboula Marsh represents the ancient harbour of the Phoenician city of Kition, which certainly lay where Larnaca lies now. This opinion is probably well founded, but cannot be proved without excavation round the edges of the marsh. When the house of Kosti Paluta was built, on the Famagusta road a little south of the marsh, a large wall was found running along the site, from the sea inland; and a number of squared blocks of sandy limestone were to be seen in the autumn of 1913 near this house, of the same shape and size as the regular masonry of the Great Wall (to be described below) on the Bamboula Hill. But without further excavation it is not possible to be certain of the purpose of this wall, or of its relation either to the 'Great Wall' on the hill, described below, or to the well-marked ridge which crossed the ploughed field from Kosti Paluta's house to the Convent.

[1] *Zeitschr. f. Æg. Sprache* IX 68–72; Oberhummer, *Aus Cypern* 203–21; *Die Insel Cypern* 1903 p. 9; Schrader, *Abh. Bul. Akad.* 1881.

[2] *Ausland* 1879 p. 970; compare Ohnefalsch-Richter's plan, *KBH* CCI (which gives no recognisable landmarks) and p. 479.

[3] *Cyprus Museum Catalogue* (1899) no. 5599; *KBH* CXCVII 1; and the Hathor-stele, *KBH* CC 1–3.

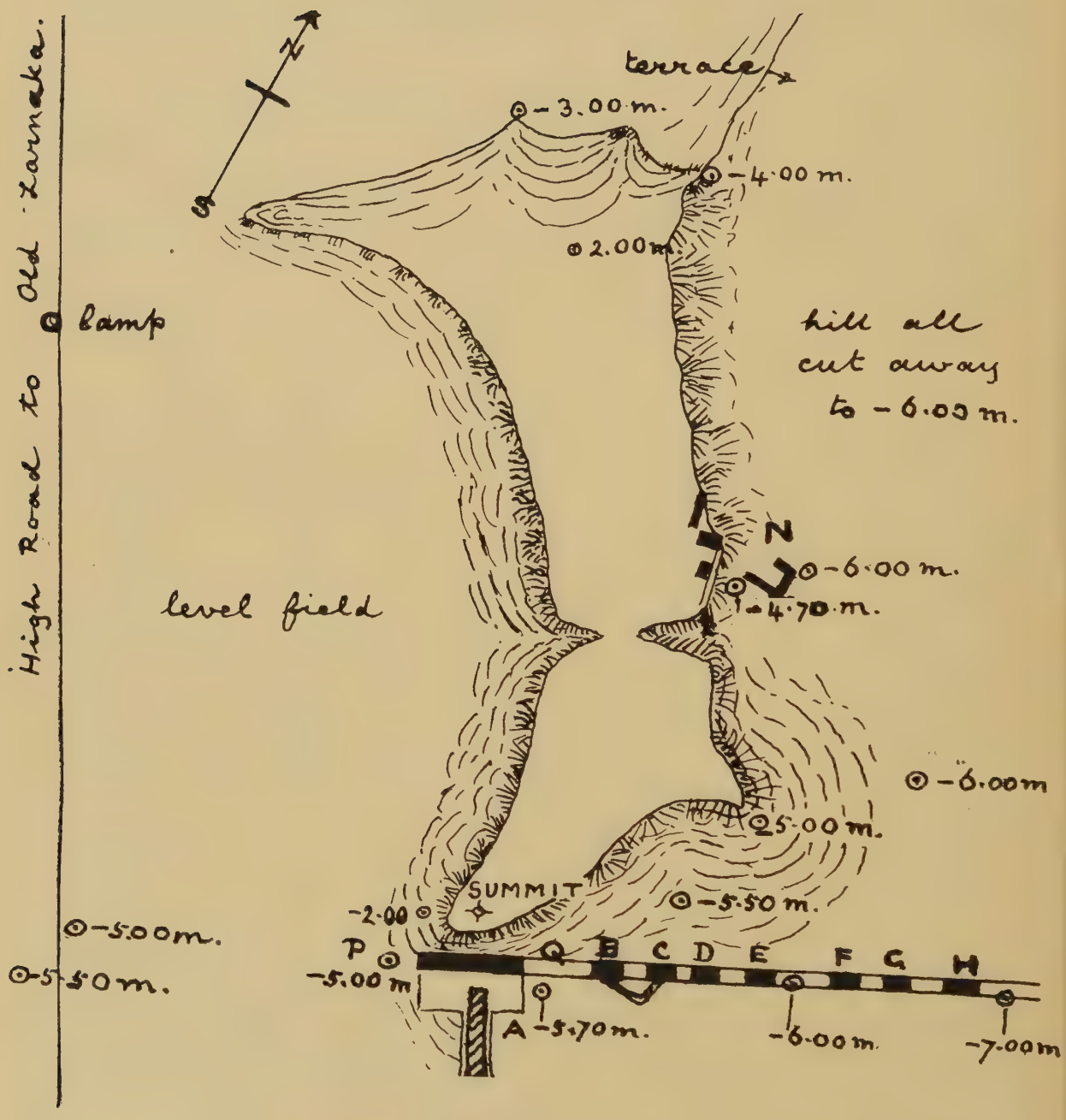


FIG. 7.–SKETCH-PLAN OF THE BAMBOULA HILL, LARNACA.
Letters A–Q refer to trenches cut in the autumn of 1913.
Heights are measured downwards from the summit of the hill.

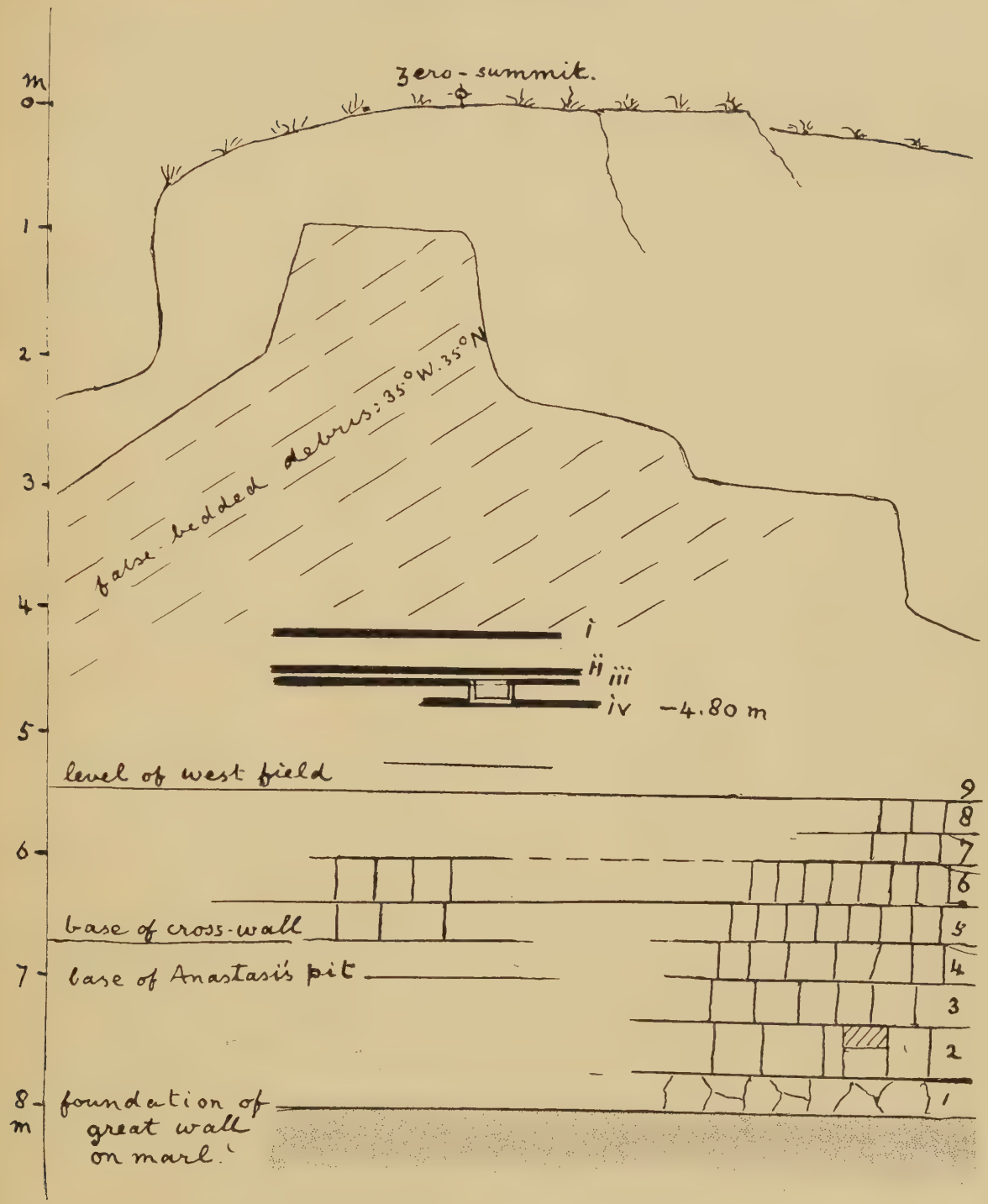


FIG. 8.—VERTICAL SECTION OF THE SOUTH END OF THE BAMBOULA HILL BETWEEN P AND Q IN FIGURE 1, LOOKING NORTH-WEST.

Heights are measured downwards from zero on the summit of the hill.

All that was left of the Bamboula Hill in 1913 was a steep-sided platform about 60 m. from north to south, and 15 to 20 m. wide from east to west. At one point it is nearly cut in two by recent rain-channels running east and west. Its longer axis lies about 25° west of the magnetic north, and nearly parallel with the Larnaca–Scala road. The top is nearly flat, but slopes about 2° downwards to the north, and descends easily at the north end onto the field-level. On the west side the slope towards the road has been cut away for about 30 m. in a nearly semi-circular form, leaving a steep face which rises from the field-level at the north-west corner of the hill, to a height of about 5 m. above the road at the south-west. Subsequently a small quantity of town rubbish had been thrown upon this hollow. The road itself rises a little as it passes the hill, and in fact crosses the outskirts of the hill itself; for the lime-works west of the road, and the site for the electric light works projected in 1913 lay distinctly below the road-level. But along a line running west from the north-west corner of the hill, the ground is almost level as far as the first houses of Old Larnaca and the Kamelarga field beyond them, where part of a fortification wall of ancient Kition was excavated in 1894 (*JHS* XVII. 167–8).

The south and east faces of the hill had been more deeply cut away, and in the southern half they were precipitous for a height of about 5 m., with a short steep slope of rain-washed soil at the foot (Pl. 30, 1). Then, around the north-east corner of the hill, is a nearly level platform of harder material, as much as 12 or 15 m. wide at the corner, sloping rather abruptly on the south into a recent cutting originally about 2 m. deep and 15 or 20 m. wide, which ends abruptly opposite the south-west corner of the hill. On the east this platform is less well defined, and the slope into the field below is more gradual. From the north-east corner of the hill, again, there is a well-marked terrace running nearly due north as far as the footpath from Old Larnaca to the Livadhia road, and sloping steeply down nearly 2 m. into the low-lying ground eastward. This probably marks the north-western limit of the great spoliation of 1879.

Thus all that is left of the original Bamboula Hill is a narrow ridge containing, at a rough estimate, some 3000 cubic metres of material, standing on a rather larger platform below the level of the Larnaca–Scala road, but considerably higher than the marsh and the low-lying field west of the Livadhia road.

The purpose of the excavation in the autumn of 1913 was to discover the composition of this hill, and to determine its date, and its relation to the other remains of ancient Kition.

For this purpose advantage was taken of the precipitous face left by previous clearance at the south end of the hill, to clean carefully the whole of the front of this promontory, along the line marked PQ in the plan. The general appearance of this part of the hill, before excavation began, is shown in Pl. 30, 1. Taking the highest point of the hill, which lay immediately above the precipitous face, as zero, all measurements were made downwards from this, to a total depth of 9 m. at the bottom of shafts B and C. Thus the detached pinnacle, which is conspicuous in Pl. 30, 1, 2, had its upper surface at − 1·00 m. below zero; the uppermost floor-level, which crosses the precipitous face below it, stands at − 4·00 m.; and the level ground in front, resulting from the last previous excavation, at − 6·10 m. These measurements are sufficient to indicate the scale of operations, and the proportions of the precipitous face in these photographs.

§ 1. *The Structure of the Bamboula Hill.*

The material of the hill was removed in layers of half-metre depth, except where an ancient floor or other change of bedding made more accurate dissection necessary. All the

excavated material was picked over by hand, and all fragments of pottery which showed identifiable form or ornament were set aside for cleaning. All pottery was roughly cleaned on the spot, and a large proportion of it was set aside for transference to the Nicosia Museum, where it forms the first stratified series of remains from a Cypriote site. The detailed description of the successive strata is only of technical interest,; only the broad results must be stated here.

The first four metres (Pl. 30, 2), lying above the uppermost floor-level on the precipitous face, were in loose dry builder's-rubbish, consisting of brick earth and small rubble-stones, with false-bedded layers of sand, sea-shingle, and limestone chips. This rubbish had the appearance of having been dug over again and again in search for building-stones. There was no continuous bedding, and the pottery, which included a number of common Graeco-Roman forms, with a good deal of blown glass, showed no clear gradation throughout this disturbed series.

At — 4·20 m. we reached the uppermost floor (i) an uneven layer of lime-cement about 0·02 m. thick, spread over a burnt layer of ashes and charcoal which lay upon the second floor. This floor (ii), of similar lime-cement, was itself a reconstruction of a house or court-yard, the walls of which had been grubbed up, though the line of one of them could be traced by the upturned edge of the cement floor running east to west i.e. about 90°. This rim of wall-cement was in places as much as 0·10 m. high, and leaned appreciably to the north, as though the wall to which it belonged had fallen over. This wall seemed to have been of mud-brick, on a cemented rubble footing. North of it there was no trace of floor (ii). Below the second floor lay floor (iii), traversed by a deep plastered drain, originally open, but filled with rubbish and plastered over by the second floor. This drain was first made in hard white plaster, over the cemented rubble of the third floor, but it had been relined with a coarse grey cement containing bits of charcoal. This floor, like floor (ii), was not traceable north of the grubbed-up boundary-wall already mentioned.

It should be noted that the whole of this system of floors did not now lie quite level, but sloped slightly northward, as though the whole mass had subsided a little unevenly. This slope, as will be seen from shaft N, runs right through the hill.

The upper part of the Bamboula Hill was thus shown to consist of an accumulation of house-débris, of Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman date.

§ 2. *The Great Wall.*

Meanwhile, work was going on at the base of the precipitous face (Pl. 30, 3). The rain-washings were soon cleared away to the level of the platform resulting from previous excavations, which lay at — 6·10 m. Beneath the rain-washings we struck at once on the ragged top of a mass of soft limestone masonry, evidently the core of an important wall running 63° between east and north-east. This will be known hereafter as the ' Great Wall.' We cleared the south face of this wall continuously for a distance of 6·80 metres, and began a series of trial pits B–K to trace its course farther east. Westward it ran under cultivated ground in the direction of the road, and it was not thought necessary to pursue it at present; especially as it had recently been grubbed up for building-stone for some distance west of the excavation. That this had happened was only too clear, when we began to descend below — 6·00 m.; for we found ourselves in a recent trench full of surface rubbish about a metre wide from the south face of the limestone wall-core. From this trench every fragment of the facing-stones of the Great Wall had been removed, leaving only the soft shelly sandstone of the core, and frequently cutting into this also. From this trench, however, we obtained the information

that the Great Wall had been designed to face towards the south, and that it had a total thickness of at least 2 m. We followed the Great Wall to its foundations which lay at — 8·00 m. The lowest course was of larger and more irregular stones, but the second and subsequent courses consisted almost wholly of squared blocks set transversely to the face, and usually on their narrowest sides. Most of the stones approximated to the average dimensions 0·21 m. × 0·28 m. × 0·50 m. indicating a mason's unit of about 0·07 m.: but the largest dimension varied a good deal. The foundation course and courses two and three had been laid in a shallow trench below the ground level which stood at — 7·00 m. when the wall was built, and was clearly traceable by the change from brown sandy marl (which the workmen called χῶνος) to grey-green sandy débris derived from the weathering of the wall itself. As has been already noted, the facing stones, which seem, from the débris, to have been (at best) selected blocks of the same shelly sandstone as the core, had all been grubbed up, and a good deal of damage had been done to the core as well. At the east end of section A, however, the outer face of the core was in good condition as high as the seventh course—i.e., for a depth of nearly 2 m. Above this, the second and third range of blocks (reckoned back from the wall face) were traceable as high as the ninth course, but only here and there, and in very bad condition. Neither the lost facing nor the inner and outer ranges of blocks in the core were bonded to each other at all. The whole wall consisted, in fact, of several distinct but contiguous walls, each built of similar transverse blocks.

The Great Wall had evidently lain ruinous and exposed to weather for a long time, and had mouldered to a mere mound of shelly sand before the site was levelled up to receive the lowest of the plaster floors already described (§ 1).

To explore the back or northern face of the Great Wall without unduly disturbing the late floors and drain which surmounted it was not easy; but a trial pit A^2 was sunk behind it. Below the upper floor (i) (which was partly composed of common slabs of local gypsum bedded in 0·02 m. of shelly sea-sand) was chaotic débris with several large blocks of stone, and among them the stone bed of an oil-press, which was transferred to the Nicosia Museum. It was found set on edge, as if it had been re-used in a wall. Floors (ii) and (iii) were not traced in this pit, as it lay north of the grubbed-up boundary wall of the courtyard to which they belonged. Another large gypsum slab, displaced, was found at — 5·00 m. and a fragmentary floor (iv) of gypsum slabs at — 6·00 m., about level with the top of the Great Wall. In all this débris there was very little pottery: it consisted essentially of builder's rubbish brought here to level the site for the house to which floor (iii) belonged.

At the west end of trench A we were stopped (as has been noted already) by the edge of the cultivated ground; but just as we were completing our clearance of what we now knew to be the recent trench cut by the stone-seekers, we found in the old ground south of it the remains of an ancient rubbish-heap, nearly 2 m. in diameter, composed of cowbones, sea urchins, and a quantity of broken pottery. This heap (which I will call 'Anastasi's Heap,' after one of our old Dali workmen), had accumulated against the face of the Great Wall, and was found to lie on the original ground-level at 7·00 m.; it was therefore formed while the wall was still new, and unencumbered by débris along its foot. That this was so is further shown by the close similarity of its pottery and the pottery from the rubbish-heap in shaft D, which is traversed by the Great Wall, and therefore older than it. These two rubbish-heaps, the one a little earlier than the Great Wall, the other only a little later (as their similarity shows), belong collectively to the period of the Great Wall itself, and serve to date its erection to the seventh or eighth century B.C.[1]

[1] When we had been working at 'Anastasi's Heap' for about half a day, one of the workmen handed to me a worn

The pottery from these two rubbish-heaps belongs to the same period and style as the earlier tombs of my former excavation round the Turabi Teké, published in *JHS* XVII 155 ff.

At right angles to the Great Wall a smaller 'Cross Wall' was traced southwards for a distance of 7·30 m. It was not quite straight, but deflected a little eastward near its south end. Like the Great Wall, it was built in a foundation trench, but as this went down only to − 6·80 m., from a ground-level at − 6·50 m. indicated by workmen's débris and weatherings, it must belong to a rather later period: 'Anastasi's Heap,' indeed, was nearly buried in surface soil before the Cross Wall was begun. The structure of the Cross Wall resembled that of the Great Wall: the blocks were of about the same average size, and were laid on edge in three independent ranges, not bonded together: the blocks were, however, laid longitudinally, not transversely, as in the Great Wall. The foundation course, which alone had been laid below ground, was of larger stones, only two blocks wide, and about 0·07 m. (one builder's unit) narrower than the superstructure. At its south end the Cross Wall seems to have returned eastward at a right angle: one transverse bonding stone of the third course remain in place at the corner, but all beyond had been grubbed up. This agrees with the mode of construction of the wall itself, for the foundation and superstructure were flush on the western face, and this face was set firmly against the side of its foundation trench; all the overhang and filling-up were on the east, which I infer to have been the inner side of the wall. We may therefore regard the Cross Wall as the western face of a rectangular building, perhaps a tower, added later to supplement the Great Wall on its outer side. The destruction of the facing of the Great Wall, however, has made it impossible to determine directly the connection of the two structures.

§ 3. *The Site Before the Building of the Great Wall.*

Finding that there were still occasional potsherds in the sandy χῶνος on which the Great Wall stood, we sank a third shaft in the middle of Section A nearly opposite the north end of the Cross Wall. Only about 0·30 m. below the foundation of the Cross Wall, and almost flush with that of the Great Wall, we came upon the top of an irregular wall running nearly north to south at 173°, mainly composed of rough, water-worn boulders and other unhewn stones, about 0·30 m. thick, and standing as much as 1·50 m. high above its footing-stones at − 8·70 m. Just before this 'Old Wall' ran northwards under the foundation of the Great Wall, it contained in its thickness a sort of cist composed of two large gypsum slabs standing edgewise on a third horizontal slab, and leaning gable-fashion against each other. This chamber looked like provision for a foundation-deposit, but contained only some soft earth. Southwards we traced the 'Old Wall' for about 3 m., underlying 'Anastasi's Heap': then it passed under cultivated ground.

This made it certain that we were still in made earth, and careful examination of the χῶνος in which the Old Wall was found suggests that it contains a large proportion of disintegrated mud-brick, such as we had learned to recognise in the Sanctuary Site at Levkoniko (p. 59). It contained a few fragments of early fabrics of White Painted Ware, with simple geometrical ornaments; and at the bottom of our pit, at about − 9·00 m., we found one fragment of Cypro-Mycenaean ware, so much worn and defaced that it must have been

Ptolemiac bronze coin, for which he received a small reward. Encouraged by this, he handed me a little later a Roman Imperial bronze coin. For this he received no reward, as it smelt strongly of tobacco. The smell of the Ptolemaic coin was not so strong, but its patina was damaged by recent wear. No other coins were offered in this part of the work, and I record these only to justify my disregard of them.

lying about for some while before it became embedded. It cannot therefore be taken as proof of a Late Minoan settlement on this site; but may have wandered from one of the settlements of that type in the neighbourhood of Larnaca, which are attested by the tombs of Aradippou, Laksha-tou-Riou, Hala Sultana Teké, and Arpera Chiflik.

A large rough stone found isolated in the χῶνος a little farther east at — 7·08 m., on the surface-level of the Great Wall period, probably came from the ' Old Wall ' or some similar structure. It should be noted here that both the bearing of the Old Wall, 173°, and its depth, — 8·70 m. to — 7·10 m., nearly coincide with those of the ' Old House ' in shaft N below the east face of the hill.

To trace the Great Wall eastwards, other shafts B–K were sunk at frequent intervals along its course. In shafts B, C, D, E, F, G the wall was easily found, though its upper surface was much destroyed. Its foundation level remained nearly constant; at — 8·00 m. in B, C; rising a little in F, G. Beyond this point the present surface slopes more rapidly eastward, and in shafts H, J, K we found only surface soil, resting on hard, light-coloured marl at —8·70 m. in J, K: this marl the workmen called καιάς (' rock '), not χῶνος (' marl ') as in the other shafts. Modern excavation has evidently cut away all ancient deposits beyond the point H.

In shaft B six courses of the Great Wall were preserved; the two lowest of rather larger and more irregular stones, the others mainly of standard blocks: it was here three ranges in thickness. The facing stones seem to have been removed here as in Section A, leaving a trench of about 1·00 m. wide full of disturbed earth. Beyond this, to the south (and therefore outside the fortified area) an early ground-level, perhaps contemporary with the Great Wall, could be traced by a layer of vegetable soil at —6·50 to — 6·65 m. A single bonding stone in the second course projected about — 5·0 m. from the core at — 7·00–7·50. Below this level, as far as — 8·00 m., the earth was full of large loose stones, including water-worn boulders like those in the ' Old Wall.' These seemed to represent another ruinous wall of the older settlement. A few stones, which seemed to be still in place, ran about 280°; approximately at right angles therefore with the ' Old Wall ' in shaft C below. Below —8·00 m. there was only grey sandy χῶνος, with streaks of grey clay. It seemed to be partly water-washed; and yielded almost at its upper surface a parcel of well-preserved grape-stones,[1] and at —8·50 m. the head of a small animal, which was skilfully extracted for me by Mr. Stebbing. So far as I know, it has not been possible to identify it.

In shafts C and D similar masses of rough stones were found below the surface level of the Great Wall period; and a bit of continuous wall in C ran about 8°, approximately at right angles with the bit of the ' Old Wall ' in B. All these ruins seem to belong to the same older settlement as the wall in section A, though they have not quite the same bearing (173°).

In addition to the shafts along the Great Wall, I sank one other at N about 30 m. north of it, at a point below the east face of the hill, where a large piece of slab-floor, projecting from the hill-side, gave a convenient base for measurement. This floor lies at — 4·70 m., and probably belongs to the same period of occupation as the series of floors between — 4·20 m. and — 4·80 m. in section A. It has the same slight dip to the north as those other floors, showing that the change of horizon has affected the whole hill. Below it, at — 5·00 m., is another similar floor, and then rubble and refuse down to — 5·60 m.; then cleaner bands of clay and sandy marl corresponding with the surface layer of the period at which the Great

[1] The Director of the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew writes that ' in view of the large size of the majority of the seeds, it is probable that they are from some large-fruited variety.'

Wall was falling into decay. Down to — 6·00 m. modern excavation had cut away the east face of the hill: from this point onwards our shaft begins to go down. The sandy marl continued with a layer of rock débris at — 6·50 m. Then at — 7·20 m. came a change to a more ruddy sand, corresponding with the original surface-level of the Great Wall at — 7·00 m. in section A. At this level (Pl. 30, 4) we found a single large water-worn boulder, which had stood on this old surface. Immediately below this surface we struck the ruined top of a wall about 0·50 m. thick, of the same rough construction as the ' Old Walls ' in sections A, B, C. It had been grubbed up in parts as far down as —8·20 m., and the loose boulder at — 7·20 m. was probably derived from it. This ' Old Wall ' was traced round the sides of a small room, with sides running 285° and 15°; very nearly therefore ranging with the ' Old Walls ' at B, C (280° and 8°). The side running 285° was 2·70 m. long: the two walls transverse to it ran out about 2 m., and passed beyond the limits of the shaft. We probed as far as was safe (about 3·50 m.) to discover a fourth wall, but found nothing; and it was not worth while, for our immediate purpose, to extend so deep a shaft for this purpose.

Very little pottery came from shaft N; a few pieces of the brown domestic ware, and some fragments of white painted ware of the Early Iron Age, with the usual bands and geometrical patterns.

§ 4. *The Pottery from the Deposits contemporary with the ' Great Wall.'*

The common domestic ware had a brick-red or salmon-coloured paste, and a deep red slip, hand polished, but easily abraded in daily use. There was no painted or incised ornament. The forms included open bowls, bowls with incurved rim, deep globular pots with low rim and vertical side-handles set at the greatest diameter and sometimes very prominent, and narrow-necked jugs with trefoil lip, and often a pear-shaped body tapering to a longish neck.

The largest and roughtest vessels were the lightest-coloured, and passed over into heavy store-jars and amphorae.

Some of the salmon or buff-pink vessels had simple bands in lustreless black paint, but this seemed to be in imitation of the painted fabric, to be described below.

Similar pottery, mostly smaller vessels and miniatures, is found in tombs at Larnaca and elsewhere. On the Turabi site (1894) it ' begins with the earliest fibulae ' [ninth or tenth century?] ' and disappears in the eighth or early sixth century ':—*JHS* XVII. 153. Compare *Cesnola Handbook* Nos. 471–78 and the larger vases, *Cyprus Museum Catalogue* 920–21.

The nearest foreign fabric is the regular domestic pottery of Ahab's Palace at Samaria, of the ninth century; and it is widely distributed on the mainland.

Closely related to this domestic series is the fine brick-red ware, hard-baked, burnished without distinct slip, and painted in lustreless black with broad and narrow bands, and occasional small swastikas and other geometrical ornaments. But those vessels are mostly miniature and funerary, and do not occur at the Bamboula (*Cesn. Hdbk.*; *CMC* as above).

Quite distinct from the ' red wares,' but contemporary with them, are the buff or cream-coloured ' white wares,' of which the larger and coarser types are without slip or paint, but the majority of the domestic crockery has a dull cream-coloured slip and simple ornaments in dull black paint: broad bands alternating with groups of narrow bands; vertical groups of narrow bands and wavy lines breaking the wider neck or body zone into panels; concentric circles, compass-drawn; triangles and lozenges, cross-hatched or concentric;—all inherited from the latest Cypro-Mycenaean decadence, and common to contemporary domestic and funerary pottery in Phoenicia. The complete absence of pictorial designs distinguishes these

domestic types, for everyday use, from the funerary and votive masterpieces, and makes it hard to assign precise dates; for similar domestic wares were common in the Turabi cemetery down to the fifth or fourth century, and perhaps later.

On one sherd from a red-ware amphora was a short graffito in black paint, but unfired and very friable in Phoenician letters ח נ ב מ.[1]

§ 5. *General Conclusions.*

It will be seen, from the record of excavation, that the deposits on the Bamboula site fall into three main sections, corresponding with three main periods in the history of ancient Kition. The absence of any Bronze Age stratum proves nothing either for or against the existence of Bronze Age settlements in the neighbourhood: it only suggests the probability that the later harbour of Kition, between the Bamboula Hill and the sea, was not occupied by any extensive settlement so early. The single sherd of late Cypro-Minoan pottery, from the bottom of section A, shows, however, that Late Minoan people were in the neighbourhood; but this was already known from the rich burial-grounds of Aradippou, Laksha-tou-Riou, and the neighbourhood of the Hala Sultana Teke and Arpera Chiflik.

The lowest stratum, which I have called the 'Old Settlement,' represented by the 'Old Walls' in sections A, B, C, and N, is dated by its pottery to the early part of the Early Iron Age. The characteristic pottery of the Transitional Period (about 1200–1000 B.C.) was not found, but there were good early examples of the Geometrical Period (about 1000–750 B.C.), and I am inclined to date the foundation of the 'Old Settlement' not much later than 1000 B.C. The remains, such as they were, do not give the impression that it was a rich important place. It certainly fell into decay after a while, and this part of it was ruinous when the Great Wall was built.

The Great Wall marks a fresh period, when a prosperous settlement found it necessary to fortify itself on an ample scale, and for this purpose included within its new circuit of wall ground which was not yet built over, but was encumbered only by a few loose stones and ruinous walls of the 'Old Settlement.' As the outer surface of the Great Wall and the Cross Wall which supplemented its defences (probably by a projecting tower) face southward, the settlement which it was designed to enclose must lie under the Bamboula Hill and the land north of this; north-west, therefore, of the harbour marsh. If our Great Wall is eventually brought into connection with the similar masonry under Kosti Paluta's house, on the Famagusta road, at the south-east edge of the marsh, this line of defence must have run south of the harbour, and have been designed to include it. Westward, its relations with the traditional 'Town Wall' in the Kamelarga field remain quite obscure.

The date of the Great Wall is accurately fixed by the rubbish heaps in A and in D, E, which contain, besides domestic ware (which is mainly new to us), examples of the Red Bucchero Ware, and of the White Painted Ware of later geometric style. The latter (as is well known) runs on without much change into the sixth and fifth centuries; but certain fabrics of it disappear much earlier, and attain their culmination in the seventh. Among these are the 'plain-bodied' style of White Painted Ware, the characteristic 'handle-ridge jugs' of Red Painted Ware with swastika ornament, and the Red Bucchero Ware jugs, with globular body and flat-rimmed neck. In the Cesnola Collection, in New York, examples of the flat-rimmed fabric bear Phoenician and Cypriote inscriptions, and the forms of the Phoenician letters point to the early part of the seventh century. All these are well represented in the rubbish-heaps, and are supported by jugs of the same globular flat-rimmed

[1] Evidently the name of the owner, [*Ya*]*thon-baal.*

form among the brown domestic ware. In the necropolis of Kition, the older tombs near the Turabi Teké, beyond the Kamelarga Wall, excavated in 1894 (*JHS* XVII 167–8), belong to this period of the city. On the evidence of the pottery, I am inclined to regard the 'Great Wall' as belonging to the period, about 700 B.C., when the recent apparition of Assyria (since 745 B.C.), as a new aggressive world-power, spread terror over all shores of the Levant, and brought nine 'kings of Cyprus' to offer homage to Sargon in 709–8 B.C. Among the named kings who sent tribute to Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal, there is indeed no king of Kition,[1] but it has been commonly supposed that the 'New Town' (*Karti-hadasti*) in the Assyrian list, represents Kition, which was in very close relations with the Phoenicians of Tyre at this time. If my suggestion as to the purpose of the Great Wall is justified, the 'New Town' was indeed 'new' then and only recently fortified.

The depth of accumulated soil on the inner (north) face of the 'Great Wall,' and above the 'Old Walls' in N shows that the 'Great Wall' remained in good condition for a long time. The 'Cross Wall' was added when the surface-level, originally about − 7·00 m., had already risen to − 6·50 m., and the layer of limestone débris at − 6·50 m. in shaft B suggests that mason's work was going on along the outer face of the Great Wall itself as well: it was not found north of the wall, and consequently cannot be attributed to weathering or destruction, which would have affected both faces equally. For the dressing of a city wall after construction, compare that of Sakje-geuzi in Syria (Garstang, *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Art* I. 104, 113 n., pl. xliii). The first layer of wall débris, which extends both inside and outside, is at − 5·80 m.; no less than 1·20 m. above the original surface. At the period represented by this débris the wall was being dismantled, and a layer of vegetable soil on top of the external débris in B suggests that, after the dismantlement, this part of the site was desolate for a while. The Great Wall, however, still stood at least a metre above ground, and probably more, and the inner and outer deposits continue to differ up to the top of our section at − 5·30 m. Outside, the removal of the wall-facing has defaced the stratification badly, but inside (northward) there is another long period of weathering, and then brick-earth and charcoal, representing a temporary reoccupation by a mud-brick house. Since Kition remained one of the principal cities of Cyprus from the seventh to the fourth century, it is difficult to suggest any occasion for such dismantlement of the Great Wall. Two possibilities are open. Either the Great Wall remained the actual defence of the city, in which case the dismantlement can hardly have occurred before the momentary Greek occupation of Kition in 388–7 B.C. and may be as late as the troubled period after Alexander's death 322–295 B.C. Or the city spread during the sixth and fifth centuries beyond its earlier limits, and the Great Wall was neglected and dismantled. Between these alternatives only much more extensive excavation can decide.

Then, after the Great Wall had long remained ruinous, and its upper part had decayed so that its stones were scarcely to be distinguished, a fresh period of building activity set in; the site of the Bamboula Hill was levelled up to − 5·00 m. at all events on the north side of the Great Wall, and the lowest plaster floor (iv) was laid down. By this time the common pottery is wholly Hellenistic or Graeco-Roman; and the finer wares include thin metallic-looking imitations of the 'Megarian' bowls, and poor late black-glazed fabrics. This period cannot be earlier than the third century, and I am inclined to put it a good deal later; but our knowledge of the sequence of these late pot-fabrics in Cyprus is still very imperfect.

Everything above the uppermost floor (i) seems to be of Roman date; and most of it (to judge from lamps and fragments of glass) is not earlier than the third or fourth century A.D.

[1] Full references in Oberhummer, *Die Insel Cypern*, 1903 p. 9 12–13.

The occurrence of fragments of good Cypriote pottery even in the highest layers obviously proves nothing except that the subsoil was frequently disturbed by builders and well-sinkers.

These conclusions, slight and vague though they may appear at first sight, really lay new foundations for the study of Kition and its history.

§ 5. *Suggestions for Further Work.*

Another corollary from our work is of some practical interest. The destruction of so large a part of the Bamboula Hill in 1879, and at subsequent dates, to obtain ballast for filling the harbour marsh, was a disaster, the magnitude of which can only be appreciated now that we know something of the structure of the hill. On the other hand, the most recent ballast-cutters had done comparatively little damage, because they were stopped by the compact subsoil of the ' Great Wall ' period, and confined their ravages to the poor house-foundations of the Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman layer. Even these cuttings, however, risked the destruction of more ancient objects, built into these later walls. Our press-bed and the great stone laver in the foreground of Pl. 30, 2 were illustrations of this risk.

But the harbour marsh still needed to be filled; all the more urgently, now that it was known to be the source of much of the malaria in Larnaca. And the Bamboula Hill needed excavation. Now the excavation of 1913, if it has done nothing else, has shown that the whole of the hill itself, to a depth of 5·50 m., could be removed, under the supervision of a trained archaeologist, without serious risk of the loss of any architectural monument worth preserving. Plans of the Graeco-Roman houses can be made while they are being demolished; and any excavator who wished to study the earlier strata would in any case have to demolish them. This sets free some 3000 cubic metres of ballast, as soon as the Island Government sees its way to provide for its removal under such supervision as I have indicated. Then, with the experience gained in this first operation, the more delicate task of excavating the ' Great Wall ' layer, right back to the Old Larnaca road, could be undertaken safely, either by Government, if further ballast were required for the marsh; or by an archaeological expedition from abroad, such as might well be attracted by the knowledge that the site was being disencumbered of its upper layer, which is very thick and of much smaller value archaeologically. This second layer, to the base of the Great Wall, contains at a rough estimate 6000 cubic metres more. The site, when cleared, will probably be found to contain a good deal of open space and some ancient buildings: it could be laid out at little cost as a public garden, or used as a nursery or experimental ground by the Agricultural Department, without undue risk of damage to the ancient remains.

THE BLACK STONE ON THE SITE OF THE PAPHIAN TEMPLE AT KOUKLIA

PLATE 30, 5.

Before leaving Cyprus in December 1913 I accepted the invitation of Mr. Markides to accompany him on a visit of inspection to the site of the Paphian Sanctuary at Kouklia which had been cleared by Messrs. Ernest Gardner, Hogarth, and Elsey Smith for the Cyprus Excavation Fund in 1887–8 (*JHS* IX 147 ff.). The ancient site lies on a spur of soft limestone, about a mile from the sea, where in south-westerly gales, such as we encountered, the reflected breakers, meeting incoming swell at an angle, throw up the remarkable jets of spray on which no doubt is based the myth of 'Aphrodite rising from the waves.' On the end of the spur stands a large mediaeval building composed of squared blocks of sandy limestone, of which the seaward wall had fallen only recently. This building seems to stand clear of the ancient site, and is worth preserving.

Between the mediaeval building and the modern village the soil has been cleared down to rock level, and is piled in a single dump to the south-west. The modern track which traversed the temple site was not excavated, but a more recent road clear of the ruins had superseded it, and it should be removed, and opportunity taken to verify the stratification, and especially to look for traces of the earlier sanctuary with the clay figurines which the excavators in 1887 called 'dollies' and failed to preserve, or even to record in detail (*JHS* XI 168) in spite of the associations of the place-name Kouklia itself (*kouklia* = 'dolls'). On the other hand, the field west of the sanctuary is said to have been excavated and filled in. In any further excavation, this area should be cleared and added to the site. West of the great stones which form part of the plinth of an important building of late Greek or Roman age, there is no trace of excavation; and this area too should be cleared, to determine the extent of the site in this direction.

Much of the ancient site certainly lies beneath the modern village, which stands immediately on Roman mosaic floors, exposed in the road, in waste land belonging to the Government, and in the courtyards of the first houses east and west of the road. To examine what lies beneath them, these mosaics would have to be removed; they show simple geometrical patterns of no special interest, and are chiefly notable as evidence for the ancient ground level. The only building in the village of any historical interest is the church, which may be found to mark a spot deemed holy in pre-Christian times.

The occasion of our visit in 1913 was the discovery, reported by the Commissioner of Paphos, of a "Black Stone" found imbedded in the courtyard wall of the first house on the left of the road, immediately beyond the refilled field above mentioned. We found this stone partly sunk in a large hole which breaks through a Roman mosaic pavement close below the modern surface, and only about one-third of its height projected above the level of this pavement. It must have been placed here deliberately. We asked the Commissioner to allow the stone to be moved to the Kouklia police-station, and the courtyard wall to be repaired. The further examination of the hole, which was full of rain-water, had necessarily to be postponed till drier weather. The previous excavators had only missed it by a few feet (*JHS* IX 210).

The stone is a natural water-worn boulder of the same black basalt as is common in all the river beds of the district, and in the coarse gravels of the neighbouring hills. But I saw

no such boulder of as much as half the size. The smooth surface of this stone, too, is quite different from that of the ordinary water-worn boulders, and certainly results from a long period of wear and tear, before it was buried in its recent position. But it is not possible to determine now whether this surface results from the handling of a sacred object by worshippers, or from the traffic of sheep and goats through a farm gateway. The smooth surface, however, is nearly uniform on all the longer sides and edges, and on the base at the broader end, and this rather supports the possibility that the stone has been carefully preserved for a long period. It may safely be said that the 'sacred stone' in the Temple of Paphos, described by Tacitus, *Hist.* II 3: 'simulacrum deae non effigie humana, continuus orbis latiore initio tenuem in ambitum metae modo exsurgens,' and shown on Paphian coins of Roman date, was most probably a natural object like this one; but there cannot now be more than a possibility that this object was *the* 'sacred stone.'

It stands now, suitably enshrined, in the Cyprus Museum at Nicosia (*RDAC.* 1935, pl. xiii, 2).

John L. Myres

APHRODITE ANADYOMENE

In ancient tradition, Aphrodite had her great sanctuary at Paphos, because it was here that she ' rose from the sea.' And there is a very good reason why she should have been supposed to have ' risen from the sea ' at Paphos; a natural occurrence which it was possible to study and to explain during a spell of very stormy weather in December 1913.

The edge of the plateau, on which the Paphian Temple stands, approaches the coast a little south of the outfall of the Xylino stream, whose ravine bounds the sanctuary to the eastward. From this point north-westwards to New Paphos (Ktima), where a similar plateau-spur shelters a precarious anchorage—the Roman, mediaeval, and modern port—is a single slightly-bayed stretch of steep shingle with level fields inland, the ' fertile plain stretching down to the sea ' in the sketch-map, *JHS* IX pl. vii. So steep and resistant is this shingle-beach that in on-shore winds from the south-west—which can be very violent in winter—the swell reaches it unbroken, and is reflected at an angle which varies with the direction of the wind. This effect is most conspicuous when the swell strikes the beach at an angle between 30° and 45°. The reflected wave in due course encounters the next incoming swell, and causes it to ' break ' into foam; and when the angle of impact is about 90° this break is both concentrated within a small width of swell, and very violent; so that the ' breaker ' shoots up in a column like a water-spout, 10–15 feet high, and falls back in an outward cascade of foam, which may be carried some feet to leeward by the wind. It looks exactly like a human figure literally ' rising from the sea,' and spreading long hair and dripping arms. In December 1913 Mr. Markides and I watched this effect recurring every few minutes, for over half an hour: next day, as we returned from Ktima, the set of the swell was different, and the ' breakers ' at the intersection of inward and outward wave were longer and lower, the foam-crest moving rapidly sideways as the point of impact shifted. Compare the air photograph in the *Cyprus Calendar* 1946, which shows yet another type of intersection.

I have watched for similar upthrown ' breakers ' on other beaches, but have only twice seen anything comparable: (*a*) alongside a groyn at the south end of the beach at Southwold in Suffolk, with little ' Aphrodites ' up to three inches high, and (*b*) in Carmel Bay on the coast of California. In both places the conditions were similar, a steep-fronted, uniform, and very resistant beach of shingle or compact sand, and an incoming swell at a suitable angle.

It is perhaps worth noting, though irrelevant here, that whereas the ' Aphrodite ' effect culminates when the angle of impact of the waves is about 90°, the length and the lateral displacement of the ' breaker '-crest increase rapidly as the angle diminishes: at zero—*i.e.* when incoming and outgoing waves are parallel, the collision would be simultaneous ' ever so far.' Just short of this, the lateral displacement of the ' breaker ' is very rapid indeed, and resembles the bow-wave of a swift vessel. Sometimes this is combined with an ' Aphrodite ' fountain, where the angle of impact varies. Is it this rapid laterally-shifting ' breaker ' that has been mistaken for a ' sea-serpent ' or ' Lough Ness monster '?

JOHN L. MYRES

THE DATES AND ORIGINS OF CYPRIOTE SCULPTURE

WITH PLATES 31, 32

SINCE the publication of my *Handbook to the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1914) there have been three revisions both of the chronology there suggested—which was essentially that outlined by Colonna-Ceccaldi *Monuments antiques de Cypre*, Paris, 1882—and of the estimate of the debt of Cypriote sculptors to Asiatic, Egyptian, and Hellenic models and influences. All three regard Hellenic influences as primary, and Oriental influences as relatively unimportant; and consequently all bring down the beginnings of sculpture in Cyprus within the archaic period of Greek sculpture, and the period of easy access to Cyprus from the Greek treaty port of Naucratis, during the Egyptian occupation of the island between 560 and 525 B.C.

The same distractions which postponed the publication of the sanctuary site excavated at Levkoniko in 1913, and described at last on pp. 61–8 above, prevented me from replying earlier to these criticisms. But though the statues from Levkoniko do not contribute much directly, owing to the lack of stratification, the publication of them seems a proper occasion for a note on some aspects of the matter which do not seem to me to have received sufficient attention.

(1) The most important criticisms are those of A. W. Lawrence (*JHS* XLVI (1926) pp. 163–170). His main contentions are (1) that I was too definite in describing the Oriental influence as mainly *Assyrian*; (2) that consequently 'there is no proof that it is as old as the seventh century'; and (3) that I 'grouped as Oriental certain sculptures which are early archaic Greek.'

With the first criticism I agree in so far as further comparison shows closer likenesses between Cypriote sculptures and those from other regions of Western Asia, than from the great Assyrian sites. These other regions were however all under Assyrian dominion during the period to which I assigned this group of styles, and were admittedly influenced by its art. I regarded, and still regard, the local styles of Syria and Phoenicia as collateral derivatives of the same Assyrian style; though no doubt they influenced Cyprus, as they influenced each other.

Let me begin by clearing up a misconception of ancient date. In his *Monuments antiques de Cypre, de Syrie, et de l'Egypte* (1882) p. 55, G. Colonna-Ceccaldi refers to G. Rawlinson *Five Great Monarchies* II p. 482 for the statement that Cypriote sculptures were found in the palace of Assurbanipal at Nineveh. If this were so, it would have settled the question of date; but the statement rests on a false reference, or a misunderstanding of some other passage of Rawlinson. And Mr. C. J. Gadd, of the British Museum, tells me further that Layard has no mention of Cypriote figures in his index to *Nineveh and Babylon*.

Direct evidence, and an initial date, for Assyrian influence in Cyprus is the stele of Sargon commemorating his conquest in 709 B.C.; found in 1845 in the 'acropolis' of Kition (*i.e.* the Bamboula hill at Larnaca, p. 85, above) and acquired by the Berlin Museum (Colonna-Ceccaldi *l.c.* Pl. 20; Oberhummer, *Die Insel Cypern* 1903, p. 8–10); the first of a long series of royal portraits of rulers of Cyprus ending in Ptolemaic and Roman times. As the material (gabbro) occurs in Cyprus, and the stele is of considerable bulk, it was probably made at Kition, but by Assyrian craftsmen.

There is, of course, no hard-and-fast distinction between the Cypriote sculptures which exhibit (in this sense) 'Assyrian' influence and those which exhibit Egyptian. The existence of what has been called a 'Mixed Oriental Style' is admitted, and it is (I think) generally

agreed that whereas, in its earlier phases, Asiatic—if not specifically 'Assyrian'—features predominate, Egyptian influences become stronger after the rise of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty to political dominion in Palestine and parts of Syria, and eventually under Amasis (560 B.C.) in Cyprus. Thus Egyptian influences in Cyprus are not excluded before the political conquest by Amasis. Objects of Egyptian style are fairly common there and some are apparently of earlier than Twenty-sixth Dynasty date (664 B.C.), though they are for the most part not demonstrably of Egyptian fabric. It seemed therefore—and still seems—to me a reasonable approximation, to distinguish between phases of Cypriote sculpture similarly characterized, and referable (*a*) to the period of Assyrian predominance, between Sargon's conquest (709 B.C.) and the fall of Assyria (606 B.C.), and (*b*) to the period between 606 B.C. and the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses (*c.* 525 B.C.).

When Lawrence refers to a 'columnar style' (p. 164) in which 'the bodies are left as pillars' like some early Greek figures, he seems to overlook (p. 163) those which show the feet below the long robe, and also the fact that many Cypriote figures are broken. I do not remember any which are perfect below and do *not* show the feet against a background or pedestal.

On some points of detail Lawrence is not quite correct. He disputes my description of the dress of the female figure *Cesn.* No. 1262 (= *JHS* XLVI Pl. vii, 2) as 'Assyrian'; but his figure 4—the Queen on an Assyrian relief—is in fact what I had in mind when I wrote; and it still seems to me to represent the same combination of garments as in No. 1262. The women on his Pl. vii, 1 are, as he says, 'captives', and are in *un*dress, with only the under-tunic, like the figures of goddesses which he quotes (p. 166, n. 24), and many early female votive-statues of Cyprus. The contrasts between No. 1262 (Pl. vii, 2) and the *Korê* of Archermos (Pl. vii, 3) are to me more apparent than the resemblances; and Laurence himself admits (p. 166) that 'there are difficulties' in his view. The 'half-closed smiling effect' of the eyes of No. 1262 results from defective lighting in some of the published photographs: the shadow is on the under side of the eyeball. On the stone the eyes are wide open and look upward, see Colonna-Ceccaldi, *l.c.* Pl. xiii.

On the male figure *Cesn.* No. 1352 I do not understand Lawrence's comments. The fringe, which he denies, is clearly visible even in the small photograph in the *Handbook*; the 'double-breasted' robe is the Oriental outer garment thrown over the left shoulder; and both pose and costume are quite different from No. 1351. The head, like similar heads, *Cesn.* Nos. 1258–60, seems to me not much more advanced in style than the colossal No. 1257.

It is satisfactory, on the other hand, that Lawrence regards *Cesn.* No. 1361 as 'purely Egyptian'. The syllabic inscription which he says 'probably belongs to it' is in fact cut on the forearm (*Handbook* p. 224).

(2) In the *Catalogue of Sculpture* of the British Museum, Vol. I, ii (1931) F. N. Pryce regards all other types as 'merely secondary forms' of the 'main Cypriote type, the draped votary borrowed from Ionia' (p. 6, n. 2). Even the archaic 'snow-man' types of terra cotta 'appear all to be of Ionian extraction, and their bell-bottoms recall the Hera of Cheramyes' in Samos. He supposes that 'a Naucratite Apollo . . . drifted across to the island a decade or so before the [Egyptian] conquest, bringing with it a flat-bodied long-faced island tradition. . . . The long-draped votary also appears to precede the conquest,' and points 'to Naucratis rather than to direct transmission from Ionia' (p. 7). Then, with the Egyptian conquest, 'at one stride Cyprus advanced from the statuette to the colossus,' and with the intimacy between Amasis and Polycrates, Saite influence appears in the sculpture of Samos also. Even Persian

influence at a later date is denied, though the long beard is admitted to be ' ultimately of Asiatic origin ' (p. 8, n. 1). A remarkable statement follows on p. 11; as neither the nude *kouros* nor the Ionian draped votary ' supplied the sculptor with a model for the bearded man, who is the Asiatic ideal of manly strength and beauty,' it is asserted that ' the accident of the Egyptian conquest brought in the image of Pharaoh to fill the gap . . . but the type is alien ' and was replaced by ' a new bearded type, developed from the Ionian votary ' who has just been described as beardless (p. 11).

The peculiar Cypriote loin-cloth is described as a ' half-understood survival ' (p. 12); but how does a man, ancient or modern, get into a garment, however archaic, which he only ' half-understands '? And Pryce himself quotes examples from Greece to support his statement that it ' is regularly found in the Greek world down to the end of the seventh century ' and ' may be the Homeric θώρηξ and ζῶμα ' (p. 12); in which case, why should it not have been equally ancient in Greek settlements in Cyprus?

Some of Pryce's predilection for ' Ionian ' prototypes may result from the fact that a large part of the British Museum collection of Cypriote sculpture comes from a single sanctuary of Apollo at Dali, in which Hellenic influence is very much stronger than in the Cesnola collection, mainly from the ' Golgoi ' site near Athienou. How far this, in turn, results from handpicking of finds by excavators and collectors, can hardly be determined now; but the rarity of the more Oriental types from Dali is remarkable, compared also with the series from Tamassos and Voni. It is most easily explained by a difference of initial date for the two series of statues.

Pryce ignores what I described as ' Assyrian ' influence except as to ' earrings and spiral armlets in the Asiatic fashion ' (p. 17); but he accepts the long-faced heads with rosette frontlets as earlier than those which show Egyptian influence and are later than 560 B.C. Like Lawrence, however, he regards them as essentially Greek, and compares *BM.* C. 1 with the Apollo of Naukratis *BM.* B. 438.

He regards the ' Phoenician ' types of votary as ' simply the Ionian votary equipped to say his prayers according to Oriental ritual ' (p. 29); but admits that the long beard ' must be of Oriental extraction ' and ' may be a gift of Cyprus to the Samian repertory ' (p. 35). The chariots and horse-trappings *BM.* C. 81–84 ' appear to be Persian,' but do not interest him.

He concludes that the ' Egyptian series ends in 525 . . . and the Ionian votary reigns supreme save for a spatter of Apollo types ' (p. 42). The types of female votary are ' taken over by Greeks in Egypt from Egyptian prototypes at an early date ' (p. 94), and ' passed from Naucratis to Cyprus ' about 560–550 B.C. But of the female head with elaborate jewellery *BM.* C. 263 he says that it ' reflects the maximum splendour of the type under Asiatic influences ': it comes from the entrance to a Minoan tomb at Enkomi (1896, Tomb 16 *BM. Excavations in Cyprus,* 1899 fig. 3), with which it has nothing to do.

Pryce's whole arrangement of the series depends on his assumption that Cyprus could not have acquired its knowledge of sculpture from any but Greek sources, and consequently had no sculpture at all before about 560 B.C. He claims the ' Phoenician ' votaries as a variant of the ' Ionian ', ignoring the occurrence of votaries in Oriental style in mainland sites, where ' Ionian ' influence is very unlikely (p. 60 above). He also overlooks the persistent and intimate relations of Cypriote ceramic, metal-work, and gem-engraving throughout the Early Iron Age, with those of Phoenicia and Syria; their complete isolation from those of the Ægean; and the extreme rarity of Greek imports before the middle of the sixth century. His description of the curled beard and other Oriental features as ' Persian ' rests on no comparative study of Persian sculpture, but is the corollary of his assumption that such features could not

have reached Cyprus before the period of Greek influence, and consequently must be later than Cambyses' conquest, about 525 B.C.

(3) Stanley Casson (*Ancient Cyprus*, 1937) admits the necessary connexion between foreign influences in Cypriote sculpture and in Cypriote vase-painting (p. 177), but thinks there 'is no conclusive evidence . . . whether the stimuli reached the sculptors in the same order, or with the same intensity'. Of the 'heavy and semitic faces' on painted vases (*Cesn.* 751) he thinks 'the prototype was certainly Assyrian'; he regards it as indifferent whether this influence was direct or through Phoenicia (pp. 169–170, cf. 176), and regards the 'hollow grooving between the upper eyelid and the eyebrow' on the statues as 'Assyrian in origin.' At a later date Persian art influenced the character of the figures rather than their style (p. 193); he identifies, for instance, with Cambyses the colossal head *Cesn.* No. 1257 with fluted and spiral-tipped beard. He thinks that 'Egypt contributes more directly' to vase-painting—which is true, especially the use of blue and yellow pigments—and dominated the sculpture after 550 B.C. (p. 191): Greek influence only begins 'towards the end of the century' (p. 192); but he finds it 'impossible to assume' that sculpture in Cyprus begins earlier than in Attica, Peloponnese, and Eastern Greece, and thinks that the demand for sculpture appears more or less suddenly (p. 177).

The early heads, long and narrow, with rosette-frontlets (*Cesn.* Nos. 1251 ff.) he attributes to Cretan influence, thus recognizing the difference between these and other results of western influence. But he seems to assume that in a mixed population people dressed as they pleased, and were sculptured as they dressed: which presumes very picturesque street-crowds in Cypriote towns, but is a regrettable revival of the notions common among British excavators before 1894 that all sorts of pottery, with fibulae, blown glass, and Roman coins, occurred in Cypriote tombs of all periods.

It is remarkable that so skilful an exponent of the technique of ancient sculpture should have overlooked certain technical details, to which I must now direct attention. What none of these critics has explained is the existence of distinct types of pose and costume, as well as of facial modelling. Casson seems to suppose (as above) that in a mixed population all styles flourished together, and a votary had his choice of artist and make-up. Lawrence eliminates the beardless heads with diadem and Cypriote belt or loincloth (*Cesn.* 1040–7; heads 1251–6) as representing young athletes of a period when older men wore beards; * but he has not explained the contrast between the full curled beards which I described as 'Assyrian' and the close cropped beards of the belted figure *Cesn.* 1047 and of 1271–3. I still think, with Casson, that the narrower leaner face of 1251–6 distinguishes them from ordinary archaic heads, and requires explanation. It may be admitted, however, that some of the figures with Cypriote belt are of the period of Mixed Oriental, and even of Archaic Cypriote style, *e.g. Cesn.* 1047.

Eye and Ear in Cypriote Sculpture.

The more it is insisted that Cyprus had no style or technique of its own, the more significant must be the resemblances, not so much of the general style which resulted from such contact, as of the technical methods by which the general effect was obtained. Attention is therefore drawn to the rendering of the eye and the ear in Cypriote statues, in comparison with Greek and with Oriental renderings. The eye socket, in early Greek sculpture, as in clay figures and

* Pryce (p. 13, n. 7) thinks that the bearded head of *Cesn.* 1047 may not belong to the body, and I am inclined to agree, as the combination of beard and loin-cloth is unique. But he does not say whether this is one of the figures which was dismounted at his request (p. 3, n. 5).

in vase-painting, is normally of symmetrical lozenge-shape, without representation of the tear-gland on either angle.

Ancient Greek eyes are illustrated by sufficient examples in the British Museum *Catalogue of Sculptures* I. i. The *kouros* B 283 (fig. 174), the Elgin head, B 473 (fig. 345) and the head from Rhodes B 330 (pl. xxxv) have no tear-gland. The *kouros* B 320 (fig. 189) and the heads B 324 (fig. 194) B 327 (fig. 196) have only a slight notch. But the heads from Naucratis, B 439–440 (figs. 221–2) show the gland, and B 447 is noted as a Naucratite copy of a Cypriote type, confirming what is said below about Naucratite ears. Even in the fifth century Cypriote sculpture preserves the well-masked tear-gland, losing it however in the fourth century: as in Casson *Ancient Cyprus* pl. xv.

Professor Beazley has kindly referred me to G. M. A. Richter *Kouroi*, pp. 28–9, 34–5, pl. cxxxii, for further examples; and adds that the recess at the inner corner is occasionally marked by a groove in the 'Orchomenos-Thera' group (c. 590–570 B.C.): from the 'Tenea-Volomandra Group' (c. 570–550 B.C.) onwards it is indicated by a loop.

In Cypriote sculpture, on the other hand, even from the least Hellenic phases (Plate 31), and in the early terracotta heads (Plate 32), the slit in which the tear-gland lies is clearly indicated and even exaggerated. Compare the careful line-drawings of Colonna-Ceccaldi *l.c.* Pl. iii. iv. v. xviii. 1. It is difficult to believe that if the technique of sculpture in stone was derived from Greek craftsmen, Cypriote pupils should have acquired a technical mannerism which their masters did not possess. On the other hand emphasis on the tear-gland is very marked in specifically Assyrian sculpture; and in other Oriental work from the region of Assyrian influence (Plate 32). It occurs also in Egyptian sculpture of the XXVI Dynasty.

The ear too is rendered quite differently. In archaic Greek statues it is a symmetrical C-shaped spiral without internal details or modelling and nearly closed in front by the rising of the lower coil in front of the ear-hole (*BM.* C 105, 110). For archaic Greek ears, it is sufficient to refer to the 17 examples illustrated in the British Museum *Catalogue of Sculpture* I. i. Most of these show a C-shaped rim, and within it either a concavity, or at most a narrow roll, concentric with the rim. The contrast with the Cypriote treatment is most marked in the Elgin head, probably Attic B 473 (fig. 245), in the Boeotian head B 474 (pl. xlii), and in the Strangford Apollo B 475 (pl. xliii). On the other hand, the greatest resemblance to Cypriote ears is in those from Naucratis B 448 (pl. xl); B 451 (fig. 230); B 452 (fig. 221); B 439. It looks, indeed, as though Naucratis had its technical lead from Cyprus, not Cyprus from Naucratis. Hellenic influence in Cyprus only begins with the Ptöon-12 Group. Richter *Kouroi*, p. 216.

Professor Beazley notes that the Greek ear is carved from the Tenea-Volomandra Group (c. 570–550 B.C.) onward in more than one plane. The *tragus* is knob-like—either a separate protuberance on the cheek, or an excrescence from the lobe—until the 'Melos Group' (c. 555–540 B.C.) in which it assumes a more natural form; in the 'Anavysos-Ptöon 12 Group' the *tragus* is natural. The *antitragus* is not indicated until the 'Melos Group' (c. 555–540 B.C.); in the 'Melos Group' it is sometimes indicated tentatively, but wrongly placed; it is natural in the 'Anavysos-Ptöon 12 Group' (c. 540–515 B.C.). Compare Richter *Kouroi*, p. 27–8, pl. cxxxii.

In Cyprus, the C-shaped spiral rim is unsymmetrical, the upper lobe much larger than the lower, which is flattened, broad, and usually perforated to hold massive spiral ear-rings. Within the upper lobe, however, is a second and broader cushion (as in life), which merges below in the flattened outer lobe. This treatment closely resembles that of Assyrian sculptors (Plate 32).

John L. Myres

INSCRIPTIONS FROM BEROEA[1]

1. The fine marble dedicatory plaque, first published by Delacoulonche in his 'Mémoire sur le berceau de la puissance macédonienne,'[2] was still serving in the autumn of 1936 as the ἁγία τράπεζα of the church of Ἅγιος Γεώργιος in Beroea. Though this important document has been often quoted in discussions on the cult of the Egyptian gods in Macedonia,[3] no description or measurements have so far been given; no apology will, therefore, be required for giving fuller details here, along with a revised text. The accompanying photograph of a squeeze

Εἴσιδι Λοχίᾳ
καὶ τῇ πόλει τὸν
βωμὸν ἀνέθηκαν
Λ. ὁ Βρούττιος Ἀγαθο-
φόρος ὁ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ
αὐτοῦ Ἐλευθέριον
ὑπὲρ τῆς θυγατρὸς
Μειλησίας εὐξάμε-
νοι ὁ ἐπὶ ἱερέως διὰ
βίου Λ. ὁ Βρουττίου
Ποπλικιανοῦ.

Fig. 1.—Squeeze of the Dedicatory Inscription to Isis Lochia from the Church of St. George in Beroea (Verria).

(fig. 1) will supplement Delacoulonche's line-blocks. The inscribed surface is surrounded by a well-cut moulding; there is a *sistrum* in relief below the inscription; the letters are very

[1] I am indebted to Professor A. Cameron and Mr. M. N. Tod for some helpful suggestions in preparing this paper. These inscriptions were examined during a visit to Beroea in the autumn of 1936 in the company of Mr. C. F. Edson. The original typescript and some photographs, which cannot be replaced, were lost during the war.

[2] *Archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires*, viii, 1859, 110, 249–50, no. 39; reproduced by Demitsas in ἡ Μακεδονία, Athens, 1896, 71, no. 61.

[3] See, among others, W. Drexler, *Mythol. Beiträge*, I, 126–7; *id.* in Roscher's *Lexikon*, 373–548, *s.v.* 'Isis,' especially 501–12 for Isis as 'Schützerin der Gebärenden u. der Kinder'; Roeder, P-W, 2084–2132, *s.v.* 'Isis,' especially 2120; G. Lafaye, Daremberg-Saglio, III, 577–86, *s.v.* 'Isis'; W. Baege, *De Macedonum sacris*, 160–1, where our inscription is quoted; C. Picard, *Rev. Hist. Relig.*, lxxxvi, 1922, 117–201, especially 172–183; P. Perdrizet, *BCH*, xviii, 1894, 416–19, especially 419, where the inscription is mentioned; C. Avezou and C. Picard, *BCH*, xxxvii, 1913, 95–6; P. Collart, *BCH*, liii, 1929, 70–100, especially 87; M. N. Tod, *BSA*, xxiii, 1918–19, 87 ff. T. A. Brady, *The Reception of the Egyptian Cults by the Greeks 330–30 B.C.* (Univ. Missouri Stud. X), Columbia, 1935, hopes, in his introduction (p. 8), 'in the near future to be able to treat this later (Roman) period.'

carefully engraved, with *apices*. H. 0·872 m.; w. (at top) 0·614 m., (at bottom) 0·642 m.; moulding: at top, 0·074 m.; at bottom, 0·083 m.; r. and l. 0·082 m.; h. of *sistrum* 0·165 m. Letters: l. 1, 0·048 m.; l. 2, 0·041 m.; l. 3, 0·036 m.; ll. 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 0·035 m.; l. 7, 0·033 m.; l. 10, 0·03 m.; l. 11, 0·017 m.; the interspace is usually about 0·015 m., but between ll. 1–2 it is 0·024 m., and between ll. 9–10, 0·011 m.

L. 3. The word used to describe the monument suggests that the altar-table of the church of St. George was made by cutting off the front panel of a βωμός. In l. 3 Demitsas overlooked the ligature Ⓡ in βωμόν; in l. 7 Delacoulonche, and Demitsas following him, give an R for a P in θυγατρός. Although Delacoulonche gives the *praenomen* in ll. 4 and 10 as A, there is no trace of a cross-bar on the stone; therefore I read Λ(ούκιος). In l. 11 Delacoulonche misread the name as Ποπλιτιανοῦ instead of Ποπλικιανοῦ. It has not been noted before that in l. 10 Λ. Βρουττίου is in *rasura*.

The purport of the dedication is clear. Lucius Bruttius Agathophorus and his wife Eleutherion had made a vow to dedicate an altar to Isis and the city, if their daughter Meilesia were safely delivered. It is interesting to note that the priesthood of Isis in Beroea is apparently (in the present case, at least) an office held for life. The priesthood of the Egyptian deities in Egypt was hereditary (Otto, *Priester und Tempel*, I, 203 ff.). One may perhaps infer that Lucius Bruttius Agathophorus is a Greek freedman of the Roman priest, Lucius Bruttius Publicianus.

The most interesting detail of the text is the epithet Λοχία applied to Isis, of which no example has yet appeared, so far as I know, in any other inscription.[1] Dittenberger in *OGI*, 94.3 gives Ἴσιδι Μωχιάδι Σωτείραι, where it was at one time proposed (the author subsequently retracted his suggestion) to read (Λ)οχιάδι; cf. Baege, *op. cit.*, 160–1 and *OGI*, 94, note 5. Λοχία is the regular epithet of Artemis, ἣν ταῖς λοχείαις καὶ ταῖς ὠδῖσιν αἱ γυναῖκες ἐπικαλοῦνται (Plut. *Moral.*, 264 B; cf. Plato, *Theaet.*, 149 B: (*sc.* ἡ Ἄρτεμις) ἄλοχος οὖσα τὴν λοχείαν εἴληχε; see also Kruse, P–W, 946, *s.v.* 'Locheia'.), as *e.g.* in Euripides *IT* 1097, *Supp.* 958 and in a third-century B.C. inscription from Gambreum, *SIG*[3] 1219.33. Isis, the favourite divinity of syncretism (πολυώνυμος, μυριώνυμος, as in *SEG* viii, 657, the *dea multinominis* of Apuleius, *Met.* xi, 22), the symbol of motherhood, quite naturally took over in Graeco-Roman times this function of Artemis, a function claimed for her in the various Isis Hymns[2].

2. In the church τοῦ Μεγάλου Θεολόγου, grave-stone acting as paving-stone, in the rear of the church. The letters on the r. side of the stone have been worn away by the feet of worshippers. There is an incised gable at the top and an incised margin appears on the l.; the r. margin has been worn away, but appears towards the top. H. 0·51 m.; w. 0·33 m.; th. indeterminable. Letters: 0·025 m.; interspaces 0·008 m. Delacoulonche, *op. cit.*, 256, no. 55, gave an imperfect epigraphic copy of this inscription, reproduced by Demitsas, *op. cit.*, 84, no. 103.

Ξανθίων [dat. fem.]
τῇ συνβ[ίῳ ἐκ τῶ-]

[1] As Delacoulonche says, *op. cit.*, 250: 'C'est donc le culte d'Isis identifié avec celui de Diane que nous retrouvons chez les habitants de Berrhoea.' I know of no other epigraphical evidence for the worship of Isis in Beroea, but the presence of the names Ἰσίδωρος and Ἰσιδώρα would point, as M. N. Tod showed in *BSA*, xxiii, 1918–19, 88, to the spread of her cult.

[2] The Isis hymns are conveniently collected in W. Peek's *Der Isishymnus und verwandte Texte*, Berlin, 1930; l. 24 of the Andros hymn: θηλυτέραις λοιμῶν γε[νόμαν] θε[ὸς] ε[ὐάντητος] and ll. 36–9: ἅδε γενέθλας | ἀρχὰν ἀνδρὶ γυναῖκα συνάγαγον εὖ τε σελάνας | ἐς δεκάταν ἀψεῖδα, τεθαλότος ἄρτιον ἔργου | φέγγος, ἐπ' ἀρτίγονον βρέφος ἄγαγον. Cf. ll. 10–11 of the Cyme prose aretalogy (ed. Salač, *BCH*, li, 1927, 378 ff.; P. Roussel, *REG*, xlii, 1929, 137 ff.): ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ παρὰ γυναιξὶ θεὸς καλουμένη; ll. 18–20: ἐγὼ γυναῖκα καὶ ἄνδρα συνήγαγον. | ἐγὼ γυναικὶ δεκαμηνιαῖον βρέφος εἰς φῶς ἐξενεγκεῖν ἔταξα. Cf. the Ios inscription, *SIG*[3] 1267, 15, 21–22. For a list of Isis' titles see *P. Ox.* xi, 1380 and the introduction, 191–4.

ν ἰδίων μ[νήμης]
χάριν· χ̣α̣ϊ̣[ρε]
παροδῖτ[α· εἰ δέ]
τις ΚΑΤ – –
ΥΤΟΙΚC – –
ΡΗ δώσι τῷ [τα-]
μίῳ χιλίας δ̣ρ̣α̣[χμάς].

L. 3 omitted by Del. L. 5, Del. read the first letter as N, instead of Π. L. 6, Del. read ITCKAT. L. 7, Del. read YTOMC. L. 8, Del. read PHΔωCIBω.

I am unable satisfactorily to restore ll. 6–8, which contain the protasis to the apodosis, δώσι κτλ. One would expect some variation of the common formula, *e.g.* εἰ δέ τις κατορύξει, or εἰ δέ τις καταστρέψει ταύτην τὴν στηλίδα, or εἰ δέ τις καταθήσει ἕτερον πτῶμα.

3. In the porch of the church of Ἅγιος Ἀντώνιος, thin marble slab of unknown origin; broken into six separate pieces, three of which join to form fragment A, two to form B; the other fragment, C, cannot be placed. Fragment A: broken l., r. and bottom; original at top. H. 0·56 m.; w. 0·61 m.; th. 0·025–0·03 m. Letters: (ll. 1–2 are in Latin, ll. 3–4 in Greek) l. 1, 0·09 m.; l. 2, 0·055 m.; interspace: ll. 1–2, 0·015 m.; ll. 2–3, 0·04 m.; letters in l. 3 vary from 0·05 to 0·09 m.; l. 4, 0·06 m.; interspace, ll. 3–4, 0·02 m. Fragment B: broken on all sides, and does not join with A or C. H. 0·33 m.; w. 0·263 m.; th. and letters as in A. Fragment C: h. 0·225 m.; w. 0·16 m.; th. 0·025–0·03 m. Letters: l. 1 (Latin) 0·076 m.; l. 2 (Latin) 0·06 m.; interspace 0·015 m. The three lines of B correspond in alinement to ll. 1–3 of A. It cannot be determined with certainty whether B belongs to the r. or l. of A, but the l. seems the more likely position.

B.	A.	C.
IIA	SECVNDA ♂	ᵛR
♂ D	ANN	ΛIA
YPIA	ΘγΓΑΤΗΡΣЄΚ	
	ΣΑΠΑΡΘΕΝΟ	
Fi]lia	Secunda	[F]ur[ia] (?)
d(ecem) (?)	ann(os)	ΛIA
Φο]υρία (?)	θυγάτηρ Σεκ[ουῆνδα ἔτη ι′ ζήσα-]	
	σα παρθένο[ς]	

4. In the porch of the church of Ἅγιος Ἀντώνιος, a funerary stele, complete with relief area; above the relief, an incised gable with acroteria and circle in pediment. H. 0·95 m.; w. 0·45 m.; th. 0·095 m. Inscription of three ll. below relief. Letters: l. 1, 0·015 m.; ll. 2–3, 0·015–0·02 m.; Φ 0·027 m. Relief: draped male figure *togatus* faces front standing on pedestal, l. hand grasping folds of toga at waist, r. hand extended from side with fore and middle fingers stretched to full, other fingers gathered into palm. In upper l. corner, *i.e.* above r. shoulder, a wreath with inscription. Letters: 0·01–0·012 m.

wreath
ΑΚΤ
ια

ΣΠΣΛΙΦΣ Σάτυρος Νεικοπο-
λείτης φωνασκὸς ἐνθάδε
κεῖμε.

This inscription was first published by L. Robert, from an imperfect copy given him in 1932 by Mr. Smyrlis Lollis, in *Études épigraphiques et philologiques*, 95–6. Apparently the stone had been moved from the private house, where it then was, to the church of St. Anthony before the autumn of 1936. The inscription Ἄκτια within the wreath, which Lollis neglected, is the most important addition to our information on this stele. The Actian games mentioned in our inscription will be those held in Nicopolis in Epirus, the home-town of the φωνασκός. The presence of the stele in Beroea means probably that he died there; we are not justified in inferring from this inscription that there were Ἄκτια in Beroea, even though we read εἰσακτίους, *i.e.* ἰσακτίους (cf. ἰσοπύθιος, ἰσολύμπιος, *etc.*) ἀγῶνας in l. 13 of the Beroean inscription honouring Q. Popillius Python, first published by M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Bull. de l'inst. arch. russe à Constantinople* (in Russian), iv, 3, 1899, 170–1, no. 2; republished as new by Orlandos, Ἀρχ. Δελτ., ii, 1916, 148, no. 4, and finally by L. Robert, *Rev. Phil.* xiii, 1939, 131–2.

L. 1. Robert proposed to read the name Σπέδιος, *Spedius*, here; in that case the Λ, in which reading my copy confirms that of Lollis, is a lapicide's error for Δ. Robert also believed that the initial letter of the *praenomen* before ΣΠΣΛΙΟΣ, 'cet homme aux *tria nomina*', had disappeared. It is doubtful whether there was room on the stone for a *praenomen*. On the model of *SEG*, i, 330, A, 85, which gives Σ. Πέδιος Ἀσιατικός, one might be tempted to read in our inscription Σ. Πέ⟨δ⟩ιος Σάτυρος, were it not for the fact that there seem to be no certain examples of S used as an abbreviation of a Roman *praenomen*. The three *praenomina* beginning with S, Servius, Sextius and Spurius, are usually abbreviated Ser., Sex., and Sp. In *CIG*, 6331, it is true, C is regarded as a *praenomen* in a Roman epitaph, but Kaibel in *IG*, xiv, 1982 interprets it as an abbreviation of some *nomen gentile*. The reading in *SEG*, i, 330 is probably a mistake for Σπέδιος.

Φωνασκός. Robert gives an up-to-date bibliography on this subject in *op. cit.*, 94, though, curiously enough, he seems to have omitted the famous passage in Tacitus, *Ann.*, xiv. 15. It was common at the games for teachers of declamation to assist, in an advisory capacity, heralds and singers, to whom they stood in the same relation as the ἀλείπτης or παιδοτρίβης to the competing athlete; the formula denoting this relationship is ὑπὸ φωνασκόν, ὑπὸ παιδοτρίβην, *etc.* It seems likely, however, that our φωνασκός won his crown for an individual effort in declamation, rather than by assisting another competitor to victory.

5. In the Old Metropolis, a marble fragment (no. 50), broken away to r. and at bottom. H. 0·515 m.; w. (max.) 0·22 m.; th. (max.) 0·195 m. Moulding at top of stone, on front only, 0·172 m. high. Letters: 0·03 m.; interspaces: ll. 1–2, 2–3, 0·025 m.; ll. 3–4, 0·03–0·035 m.

	(a)	(b)
ΛΕΓΕΘ – – –	Μ̣εγεθ – – [τοῦ δεῖνα Δ-]	Μ̣εγεθ – – [τοῦ δεῖνα Δ-]
ΗΛΗΤΡ – – –	ημητρ[ίᾳ – – –]	ημητρ[ίῳ – – –]
ΕΟΝΤΟ – – –	έοντο[ς τῇ ἰδίᾳ σ-]	έοντο[ς τῷ ἰδίῳ σ-]
΄ΜΒΙΩΙ – – –	υ̣μβίῳ μ̣[νήμης χά-]	υ̣μβίῳ κτλ.
5 Ρ – – –	5 ρ[ιν̣].	

Restoration can be made only *exempli gratia*. It is assumed in (*a*) that the stone is erected by a man to his wife, in (*b*) by a woman to her husband. The name in (*a*), l. 1 might be Μεγέθ[ιος or Μεγεθ[ίας. In ll. 2–3 some name such as Εὐρυλ]έοντο[ς might be suggested.

6. In the church of Παναγία Βαλτισνή, embedded in the floor as a paving-stone, about 2·50 m. from the central entrance to the ἱερόν, a Roman grave-stone of marble, with relief and gable engraved at top; inscr. just below relief. H. 0·505 m.; w. (at top) 0·42 m.; (at

bottom) 0·435 m.; th. indeterminable. Letters: 0·015–0·02 m.; interspace, 0·005–0·01 m. Lettering poor. Relief: l., standing draped male figure facing front, r. arm across breast in folds of robe, l. hand by side; centre, standing draped female figure, l. hand on breast, r. by side; r., seated female figure, legs facing l., torso and head facing front, l. hand by side resting on seat, r. hand holding fold of garment. All three figures, which are of poor workmanship, are badly footworn.

Ἀφροδιτῷ Σίλᾳ τῷ ἰδίῳ συμβίῳ
ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτῶν μνείας χάριν.

Ἀφροδιτώ, though unsupported by any other example, so far as I know, fits the traces better than the common form, Ἀφροδίτη. Her husband's name may be Σίλας, a fairly common name, the best known holder of which was St. Paul's companion (*Acts*, xv. 22), who accompanied him on his visit to Beroea (*ibid.*, xvii. 10).

7. In the courtyard of the Γ. and Δ. Σχολεῖον, a marble block, broken bottom and left, forming the r. half of the topmost step of the so-called Monument of St. Paul, marking the spot where the apostle is believed to have preached (*Acts*, xvii. 10–13). H. 0·145 m.; w. 0·66 m.; th. (max.) 0·305 m. Letters: l. 1, 0·025–0·03 m.; l. 2, 0·023 m.; l. 3 indeterminable; interspaces: ll. 1–2, 0·023 m.; ll. 2–3, 0·02 m.

– – – Σέξτου θυγάτηρ Οὐεττίαν
– – – καὶ Οὐεττύλα ΑΥΔΟΥ Οὐεττίαν
– – – ΓΣΤΟΤΟΣΤΟΥΙΓΟΣ

In l. 3 one might read προ]εστῶτος τοῦ followed by a word beginning ἱερο-.

8. In ὁδ. Ἀκαταμαχήτου at the corner of ὁδ. Μεγάλου Ἀλεξάνδρου, a fragment of a marble grave-stone, broken r. and top; now on r. side, forming part of a step. H. 0·215 m.; w. 0·24 m.; th. 0·315 m. Letters: 0·02–0·03 m.; interspace, 0·008 m.

– – [Δημο- (?)]
κράτει[α τ-]
ὸν ἴδιον [ἄνδρα·]
ἥρωα.

9. In the Πάροδος Πλατάνου, with other ancient remains, a grave-monument lying on its l. side; moulding, surmounted by incised gable at top; moulding over base; the design of the front and two sides is identical. H. 1·20 m.; w. 0·48–0·53 m.; th. 0·50–0·585 m. Letters: l. 1, 0·04 m.; ll. 2–3, 0·03 m.; interspaces, 0·01–0·015 m. Below the inscription, horse to r., with elaborate saddle, long stirrup, indeterminable object (apparently not a rider) in saddle.

Φλάουιος
Ἀγάθων·
ὁ ἥρως ὁ

10. In the church of Ἅγ. Νικόλαος (Νικολᾶς Ψαρρᾶς) in the συνοικία of Ἰωάννης ἐλεήμων, a grave-monument, upside down, acting as a support for the altar; the top of the stone is sunk in the ground; the bottom shows a moulding and base on the front and l. and r. sides. H. (visible) 0·92 m.; w. (at top, *i.e.* original bottom) 0·62 m.; th. 0·415 m. Letters: 0·04 m.; interspaces, 0·01 m.

Τί. Φλ. Λέω Κλαυδί-
αν Βυζαντίαν
τὴν ἑαυ(τοῦ) γυναῖκα
μνείας χάριν·

Βυζαντία, with which cf. Μειλησία of no. 1, l. 8, belongs to the common type of name listed by Bechtel, *HP*, 536 ff. Dem., *op. cit.*, no. 993, gives an example of the masculine form. Λέω may be an alternative form of Λέων, or an abbreviation of another name.

11. In the Metropolis, marble fragment (unnumbered), broken on all sides. H. 0·21 m.; w. 0·285 m.; th. 0·105 m. Letters: l. 1, 0·025–0·04 m.; ll. 2–3, 0·025 m.; interspace, 0·025 m.

ΙΟΥ
ΡΗ
ΤΓ

12. I was unable to find the funerary inscription from the Gymnasium, published by Orlandos, Ἀρχ. Δελτ., ii, 1916, 152–3, no. 6, but a glance at his photograph enables one to correct his text. He prints the text thus:

Αἰλίας Φιλου
μενῆς ἰδίας γυ
νεκὸς κευθυ
κέθυγατρὸς Ὀν
ήσιμος κτλ.

In a note he says, ἐνταῦθα ὑπονοητέον ὡς ὑποκείμενον μὲν τὸ μνῆμα, ὡς ἀντικείμενον δὲ τὸ σῶμα ἂν μὴ πρόκηται λάθος τοῦ χαράκτου προθεμένου νὰ γράψῃ κὲ θυ|γατρός, but, since the last three letters of l. 3 appear as ΥΟΥ in the photograph, we may transcribe ll. 3–4 thus:

κὲ ὑοῦ
κὲ θυγατρὸς κτλ.

13. In the church of ἡ Μακρὴ Κυριώτισσα, a recut block, forming one of the steps to the l. of the r. entrance to the ἱερόν. H. 0·97 m.; w. 0·46 m.; th. 0·12 m. Letters: 0·025 m.; interspaces, 0·03 m.

Ἀγάθων
[τ]ῷ εἰδίῳ θρεπτῷ
– – νῳ μνίας χ[άριν].

Ἀγάθων. This name (another example occurs in no. 9, l. 2 above) is given as Macedonian by Hoffmann in *Die Makedonen*, Göttingen, 1906, and is marked as probably Macedonian by Russu in his Onomasticon Macedonicum in *Ephemeris Dacoromana*, viii, 1938.

L. 2. A. Cameron in his article ' ΘΡΕΠΤΟΣ and Related Terms in the Inscriptions of Asia Minor ' in *Anatolian Studies Presented to W. H. Buckler*, 1939, 27–62, has collected and systematically studied the epigraphical evidence for the various uses of this word, and has discussed the social and legal implications of the term.

14. In the Gymnasium, grave-stele with two relief areas, broken away at bottom through centre of lower relief; gable top with anthemion; circle in gable. H. 0·76 m.; w. 0·495 m.; th. 0·095 m.; h. of upper relief 0·345 m.; w. of upper relief 0·42 m.; w. of r. and l. margins 0·04 m.; w. of inscribed area between upper and lower reliefs 0·055 m.; h. of lower relief 0·22 m.; w. of lower relief 0·415 m. Letters: upper inscr. 0·018 m.; lower inscr. 0·02 m.; practically no interspace. Upper relief: three figures, a bearded man and two women, standing facing front; all draped, with hands across breast in folds of robes. Lower relief:

l., seated female figure, draped and veiled, facing r., chin in hand; r., female figure similar to those in upper relief. Upper inscription:

Αὐ]ρ. Εὐπορὼ Πό(πλιον) Δόνακα τὸν ἑαυτῆς
ἄνδρα καὶ Εὐτύχαν τὴν θυγατέραν ζῶσαν.

Lower inscription:

καὶ Παραμόνα[ν] ☉ καὶ Ἤπιν τὸν
τὴν μητέραν αὐτοῦ ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ.

L. 1. I know of no other example of Εὐπορὼ for the more common form, Εὐπορία. For Δόναξ (Δόνακος also occurs) as a proper name, see Bechtel, *HP*, 592, and Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, 92.

L. 3. Ἤπιν or Ἤπιν will be a contracted form of Ἤπιον, a name of the class listed by Bechtel, *HP*, 501 as derived from ' Temperament und Charakter.'

Ll. 2 and 4. For the forms μητέραν and θυγατέραν, see Brugmann-Thumb, *Griechische Grammatik* § 256, with the examples and references given there.

15. In the courtyard of the Gymnasium, Roman grave-stele, broken top and bottom, with relief; inscription on area between gable and relief, and to l. and r. of the single figure in the relief area. The relief, badly damaged, is of a draped figure, apparently male. H. 0·625 m.; w. 0·40–0·415 m.; th. 0·115 m. Letters: 0·015 m.; interspaces, 0·05 m.

☉ Γ. ☉ Ἀουέρνας ὁ πατὴρ καὶ Τερτία

ἡ μήτηρ Relief καὶ Μάξι-
μα ἡ ἀδελ φὴ τὸν
ἑαυτῶν υἱὸν ἀνέ-
θηκαν Νείκαν-
δρον· ἥρωα. ☉

16. In the Metropolis, a thin, unnumbered, marble slab, broken away at r. and bottom; upper l. corner broken away; lettering crude. H. 0·24 m.; w. 0·19 m.; th. 0·038 m. Letters: 0·02–0·04 m.; interspaces 0·035 m.

[τ]ῷ γλυκ[υτάτῳ]
ἀνδρὶ Μα – – –
Ἰσιδώρα ἐ[ποίη-]
σεν Τ.Λν –

17. In the Metropolis, an unnumbered funerary stele with relief, broken away at bottom, damaged and broken away at top. H. (max.) 0·50 m.; w. 0·45 m.; th. 0·13 m. Letters: 0·02 m.; interspace 0·002 m. Relief: l., seated female figure, veiled and draped, profile r., chin in hand; next, youthful female figure standing, facing front, chin on r. hand, head turned to figure on l.; a tree, along the trunk and branches of which a serpent coils; r., a female figure standing, profile l., with arms extended offering a pyxis (?) to the departed on l.

– – – –
[Ν]ικάν[ο]ρος
ἡρώισσα.

18. At the Ὡρολόγιον, with several other monuments from the excavations in the Πλατεῖα, a ' Macedonian ' grave-monument, very badly damaged; moulding at top, broken at front

and r. side; lower moulding completely cut away. The stone had evidently been cut down for use as a building block, and the inscribed surface is badly disfigured with plaster. H. 1·22 m.; w. 0·49–0·52 m.; th. 0·52 m. Letters: ll. 1–2, 0·05 m.; ll. 3–4, 0·04 m.; l. 5, 0·035 m.; ll. 6–7, 0·03 m.; interspaces 0·02 m. The two forms of *sigma*, Σ and C, appear side by side throughout the inscription.

[Τ]έρπνη Ἀμ-
μίας τροφὸς
καὶ νάννη
Πετρονίας,
μήτηρ δὲ Ἑρμοῦ
[κ]αὶ Καρποφό[ρ]ου,
ζήσασα . . ἔτη.

Τέρπνη. Demitsas gives no example of the feminine Τέρπνη, but remarks, *op. cit.*, 109, on the rarity of the masculine form in Macedonia. Τροφός. A. Wilhelm collects a series of epitaphs to nurses in *Glotta*, xvi, 1928, 274–9. Νάννη. The new L. and S. quotes this word only from Hesychius, with the meaning ' maternal aunt '.

19. At the same place, a ' Macedonian ' grave-monument, lying on r. side; moulding, surmounted by incised gable, at top, and at bottom. H. 1·15 m.; w. 0·47–0·57 m.; th. 0·385–0·45 m. Letters: 0·035–0·04 m.; interspaces: ll. 1–6, 0·015 m.; ll. 6–7, 0·065 m.; ll. 7–8, 0·025 m. Letter-forms: A, E, O, Σ, Ω.

Αὐρήλιος Ἄτ-
τιος Πετρό-
νιος Ἀττίᾳ
Εἰρήνῃ τῇ
συμβίῳ μνεί-
ας χάριν·
χαῖρε, παροδεῖ-
τα

20. At the same place, a ' Macedonian ' grave-monument of similar type, lying on its back; broken towards the l. H. 1·315 m.; w. 0·44–0·46 m.; th. 0·40 m. Letters: 0·045 m.; interspaces: ll. 1–6, irregular, 0·01–0·025 m.; ll. 6–7, 0·04 m. Letter-forms: A, Є, O, C.

Γαλέστης
[Ἀ]ρίστονος
[τ]οῦ Δομιτί-
ου Ἰσαγ[ό]ρα
τοῦ ἰδίου θρ[ε-]
πτοῦ μνῆς
χάριν.

21. At the same place, a ' Macedonian ' grave-monument of similar design; the lower r. portion of the stone has been reworked with rough picking, which has destroyed the r. portion of ll. 3–5, and the extreme r. of l. 2. H. 1·79 m.; w. (at top) 0·84 m.; w. (at bottom) 0·915 m.; th. 0·56 m. Letters: ll. 1–3, 0·045 m.; ll. 4–5, 0·04 m.; interspaces: ll. 1–2, 0·10 m.; ll. 2–3, 0·07 m. ; ll. 3–4, 0·08 m.; ll. 4–5, 0·065 m.

Παράμονος ὁ καὶ
ὁ Κλ. ὁ Ἐπάγαθος τ̣[ο]ῖς
γονεῦσι – – –
ἑαυτῶν· – – –
μνείας χάριν.

22. In the porch of the church of Ἅγ. Ἀντώνιος, a marble plaque, broken at top and bottom; inscription set in counter-sunk panel, surrounded by moulding. H. 0·54 m.; w. 0·70 m.; th. 0·075–0·12 m. Letters: l. 1, 0·045 m.; l. 2, 0·04 m.; l. 3, 0·04–0·045 m.; interspaces: ll. 1–2, 0·025 m.; ll. 2–3, 0·04–0·045 m.

Μαρκία
Αὐρηλία Οὐρβά-
να Πετιλλίῳ Κλαυ-
διανῷ τῷ ἰδίῳ ἀνδρί.

23. In the garden of the Προτεσταντικὴ Ἐκκλησία, a 'Macedonian' grave-monument with moulding at top and bottom; face between the two mouldings excavated to make a water-trough; original surface almost entirely destroyed. H. 1·315 m.; w. (max.) 0·67 m.; th. (max.) 0·58 m. The inscription is on the upper part of the bottom moulding. Letters: 0·02 m.; interspace 0·03 m.

Δι[ο]νύσιον Κασσάνδρου
τοὺς πενθερο[ὺς – –

It is difficult to account for the accusative Διονύσιον, unless it is the name of the father-in-law, while the name of the son-in-law, originally in an inscription on the upper moulding, is now lost. The plural is to be taken as equal to τὸν πενθερὸν καὶ τὴν πενθεράν (cf. Dem. no. 222, ll. 5–7). For this use of the plural, cf. Tac., *A.*, xi. 38 (filios); xii. 4 (fratrum); *JRS*, xiv, 41 (ἀδελφούς); Dem., no. 386 (θρεπτοί); *IGR*, iii, 97 (πονταρχούντων); *IG*, v (1), 233 (οἱ ἱερεῖς); Livy, i. 39 (reges).

24. In the church of Ἅγ. Ἀνάργυροι (ὁδ. Περιφεριακός), a fragment of lower r. corner of a marble plaque surrounded by a moulding. H. 0·385 m.; w. 0·437 m.; th. 0·13 m. Letters: ll. 2–3, 0·04 m.; ll. 4 and 6, 0·025 m.; l. 5, 0·03 m.; interspaces: ll. 1–4, 0·015 m.; ll. 4–5, 0·01 m.; ll. 5–6, 0·025 m. Letter-forms: Α, Ξ, Ϩ.

– – – – – – ιε̣
– – – – – ένους
– – – ἐν̣ παντὶ καὶ-
[ρῷ] – – – – – εὐξάμενον ἐπὶ
[ἀρχιερέως (?) Δ]έκμου Ποπλικίου
– – – – λώτου.

25. In the church of Παναγία Δεξιά, serving as a paving-stone, to r. and front of the altar, an inscribed marble fragment, apparently recut. H. 0·28 m.; w. 0·30 m.; th. cannot be ascertained. Letters: 0·02 m.; interspaces 0·01 m.

This is apparently a fragment of a document arranging for the manumission of a slave

after the death of the owner. Restoration can be attempted only *exempli gratia*. In the following restoration it is assumed that θά]νατον was centred in the original inscription.

[Ἀλεξ]άνδρα ἱέρια
[Μητρὸς] καὶ Κόρης Νίκη-
[ν ἀφίησι]ν ἀπελευθέραν
[εὐθὺς] μετὰ τὸν ἐμὸν
5 [θά]νατον.

26. Ἅγ. Ἀπόστολοι (Pella), a Hellenistic marble stele, built into the face of the S. side of the village well. Though Demitsas, *op. cit.*, facing p. 103, gives a drawing of this fine monument, first published by Cousinéry and later in *CIG*, 1997, b, the following details may supplement our information. H. 1·80 m.; h. of anthemion 0·69 m.; w. at bottom of anthemion along moulding 0·59 m.; h. of moulding 0·06 m.; w. below moulding 0·503 m.; the two rosettes lie 0·152 m. below the moulding and 0·055 m. from the r. and l. edges of the stele respectively; inscription begins 0·437 m. below moulding; th. indeterminable, but more than 0·15 m. Letters: 0·023 m. (O smaller); interspace 0·025 m.

Διονύσιος
Μεγακλέους.

J. M. R. Cormack

A GARLAND-SARCOPHAGUS IN BEROEA

Outside the new Metropolis in Beroea lies an uninscribed fragment of a sarcophagus,[1] belonging to the well-known type described by Altmann in his *Architektur und Ornamentik der antiken Sarkophage* as ' Guirlanden-Sarkophage '. These Imperial garland-sarcophagi fall into four classes, listed thus by Miss J. M. C. Toynbee in *The Hadrianic School*, Cambridge, 1934, 202–3: ' First, those on which the garlands, generally two, but sometimes three, in number, are supported by Amorini, while masks fill the semi-circular spaces above the garlands; secondly, those on which figure-scenes are substituted for masks; thirdly, the type with Victories

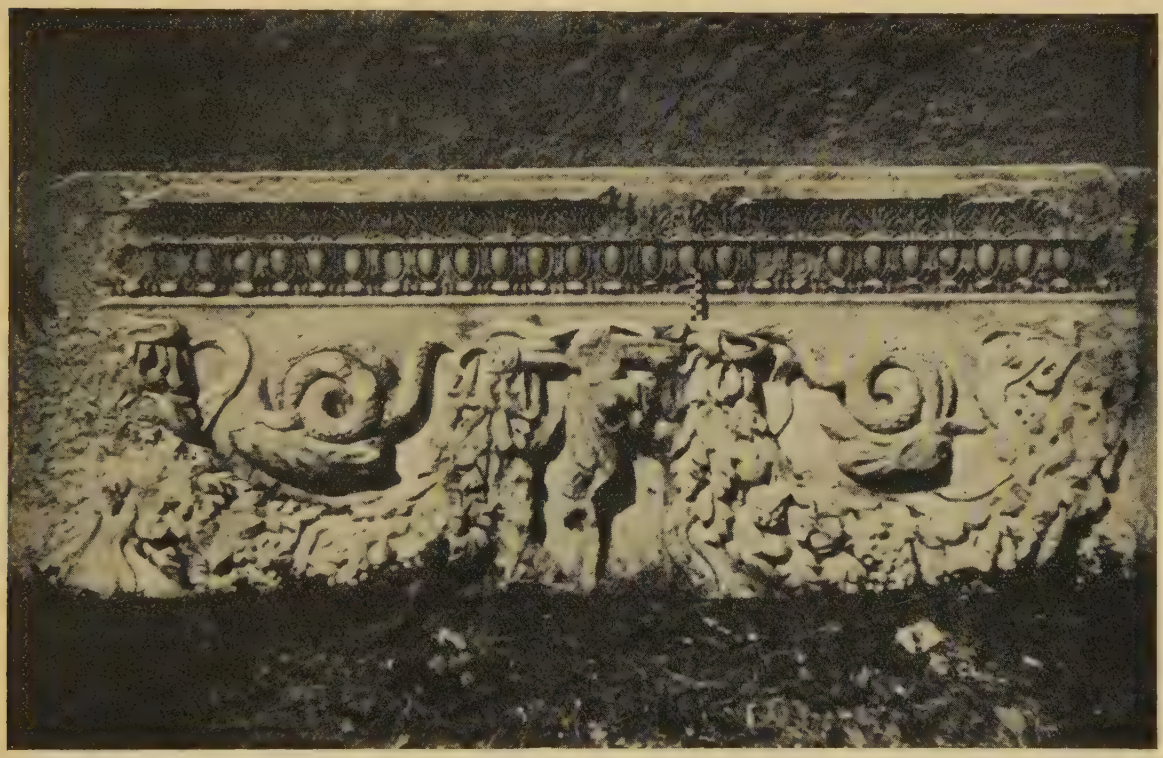


Fig. 1.—Fragment of a garland-sarcophagus photographed in the autumn of 1936 outside the new Metropolis in Beroea (Verria).

instead of Amorini holding up the garlands, and with masks occupying the field above each garland; and, fourthly, the type with Victories as supports and with figure-scenes in the place of masks.' Altmann assigned all four types to the first century A.D.; but Miss Toynbee, by a careful comparative study of garland-sarcophagi in Part II, chapter iii of her book, has shown (213) ' that " Guirlanden-Sarkophage " as a class, so far from being characteristic of the first century A.D., only came into existence at the beginning of the second century.' The Beroean fragment may be placed in the middle of the second century A.D.

These remarks apply principally to the ' Roman ' garland-sarcophagi, but they apply also, with certain modifications, to the ' Greek ' type, to which the Beroean example belongs. The terms ' Roman ' and ' Greek ' refer, of course, generally to the provenance of the sarcophagus,

[1] I am indebted to Miss J. M. C. Toynbee for some helpful suggestions in preparing this note.

rather than to the nationality of the craftsman who decorated it. As Miss Toynbee says (220–1): ' Between the sarcophagi made in Rome, Italy, and the western part of the Empire in general and those produced in Greece and in the eastern part of the Empire there are, indeed, certain very definite points of difference. The most obvious of these are, first, the greater stress laid, in " Greek " and eastern, as compared with western, sarcophagi, on architectural features, such as the elaborate *kymatia* and mouldings above and below the sarcophagus proper and the large, gabled lids, and secondly, the application of relief sculpture in Greece and the East to all four sides of the sarcophagus instead of to three only.' The Beroean sarcophagus doubtless had originally a gabled lid, like the sarcophagus from the National Museum in Athens, Pl. LI, 2 in Miss Toynbee's book. Similarly, the fine moulding of our fragment can be paralleled by those of Pl. LI, 3 (Kephisia); LII, 3 (National Museum, Athens); LIII, 3 (*ibid.*).

It is difficult in such a mutilated fragment to decide what were the supports for the garlands, of which, incidentally, there were almost certainly only two. It may be noted also that the garlands, in Eastern fashion, have bunches of grapes hanging from them. But the remains of a *bucranion* may be detected at the break on the extreme left. It is quite probable that the artist used *bucrania* as angle-supports, under the influence of the *bucrania*-garland motive of the Hellenistic altars, a motive which can be seen in the dedications to Zeus Hypsistos in Edessa, published by S. Pelekides in 'Αρχ. Δελτ., viii, 1923, 259–69.

An interesting feature is the door between the garlands, before which the central figure stands. It may represent either the door of a tomb, or the gate of the underworld. It recalls the third century A.D. sarcophagus outside the S. door of the Baptistery of Florence (Pericle Ducati, *L'arte in Roma*, Bologna, 1938, tav. CC, 1), which shows a husband on the right and a wife(?) on the left, with a door ajar between them; through the door is seen emerging Hermes Psychagogos (?), with winged cap and *caduceus*. A similar door is shown in the centre of the Protesilaus sarcophagi (C. Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs*, III, 3, Taf. CXXXII, no. 423).

The identity of the central figure in the Beroean sarcophagus is puzzling, since it has been so badly damaged. It is impossible to determine with absolute certainty even the sex of the figure, but one may detect what seems like an exposed left breast. If, then, the figure is female, as seems probable, it is most likely a Maenad, for they are common on Dionysiac sarcophagi as symbols of the soul in bliss.

In these garland-sarcophagi it is usual to find the space above the garlands filled with Medusa-heads, masks, lions'-heads, rosettes, or portrait-busts, but I know of no other sarcophagus in which the space is occupied by two snakes. There is, of course, nothing unusual in finding snakes on funerary monuments, for, to quote K. Lehmann-Hartleben and E. C. Olsen in *Dionysiac Sarcophagi in Baltimore*, N.Y., 1942, 28–9, ' the symbolism of the snake [1] as a spirit of the earth, and its relation to the underworld, to death, and to resurrection, is widespread and well-known.' The attitude of the two snakes, coiled and facing each other, recalls a wall-painting from Pompeii (*AJA* xlvi, 1942, 14, fig. 1), where, however, the two snakes are more loosely coiled, and do not repose, as on the Beroean fragment, on rocks; the altar, towards which the serpents face in the Pompeian painting, is replaced by the doorway in our example. The presence of a pair of snakes has probably no other significance beyond the artist's desire for symmetry; it is hard to say whether the usual practice is followed, whereby the left snake of the pair is slightly larger, with a larger crest and beard, the characteristics of the male (Aelian, *Hist. Anim.*, xi, 26), than the female on the right.

J. M. R. Cormack.

[1] See, among others, Hartmann in P-W 508–20, *s.v.* ' Schlange '; E. Küster, ' Die Schlange in der griechischen Kunst und Religion,' in *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*, xiii, 2, 1913; G. K. Boyce, ' Significance of the Serpents on Pompeian House Shrines ' in *AJA* xlvi, 1942, 13–22, with the references given there.

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1904–1941.

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1*a*

1*b*

2*a*

2*b*

5*a*

5*b*

6*a*

6*b*

3

7*a* 7*b*

9

4

8

MINIATURE PANATHENAIC VASES.

11

18

12

13

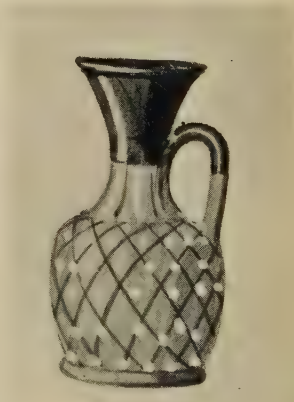
10

14

16

15*a*

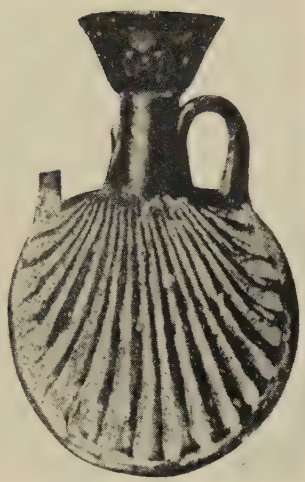
15*b*



17

SMALL ATTIC VASES.

19*a*



19*b*

20

SMALL ATTIC VASES.

1

2

3

BOEOTIAN VASES IN READING (1, 3) AND NAUPLIA (2).

4

5

6*b*

6*a*

BOEOTIAN VASES IN BRUSSELS (4), ATHENS (5), AND VIENNA (6).

7*a*

7*b*

BOEOTIAN VASE IN NAUPLIA.

8*a*

8*b*

8*c*

BOEOTIAN VASE IN ATHENS.

9*a*

9*b*

10

11

BOEOTIAN VASE IN READING (9) AND EUBOEAN (?) VASES IN READING (10) AND THEBES (11).

1. HELLENISTIC STATUE, SOUTH END OF SITE.

2. STELA, COLUMN, AND HEADS, SOUTH END OF SITE.

3. DISPLACED STATUE BASES ON EARLY FLOOR-LEVEL.

4. DEPOSIT OF VOTIVE FIGURES: LOOKING NORTH-EAST.

5. DEPOSIT OF VOTIVE FIGURES, UPPER SURFACE.

6. DEPOSIT OF VOTIVE FIGURES, SOUTH WEST CORNER.

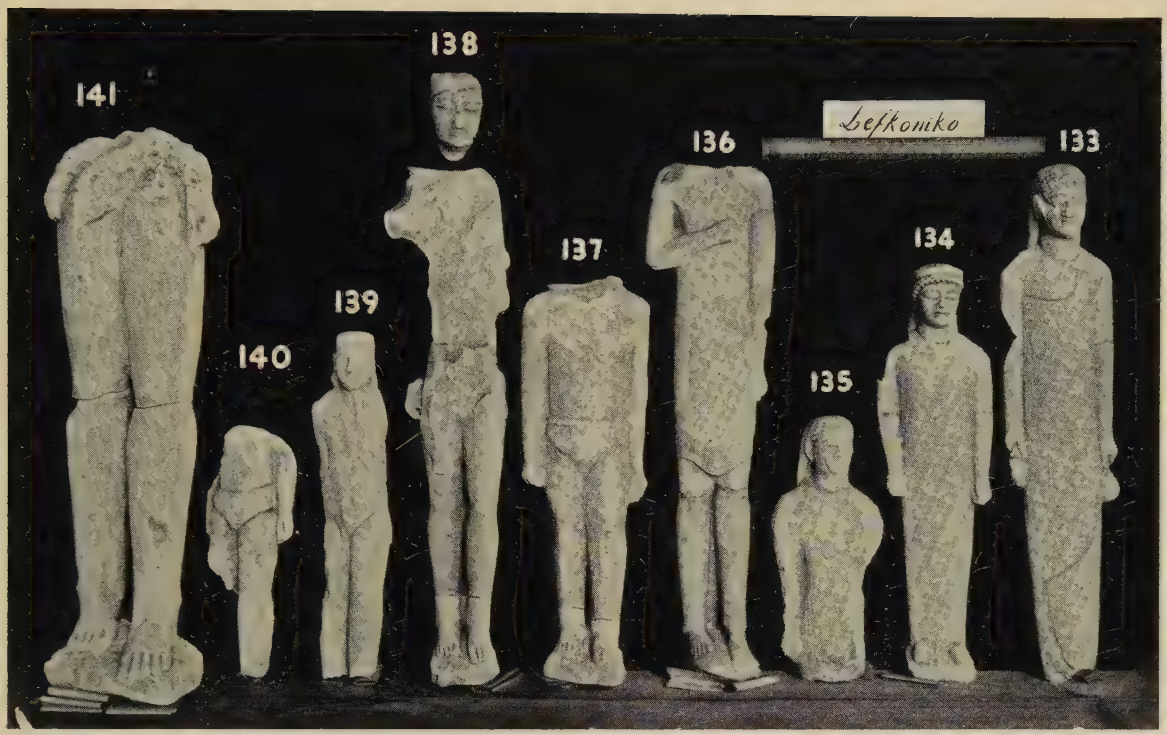
LEVKONIKO: SANCTUARY WITH STATUE BASES AND DEPOSIT OF VOTIVE FIGURES.

1. BRONZE STATUETTE: 2, 3, 4, BRONZE OXEN.

5. VOTIVE STATUETTES: ORIENTAL.

6. FLUTE PLAYERS (109, 111, 112); SCRIBE WITH ROLL (113); PRIEST AND TWO SONS (114): MASKED VOTARIES (115–119: UPPER 112): VOTARIES CARRYING KIDS OR CALVES (120–122).

LEVKONIKO: VOTARIES: ORIENTAL.



1. VOTARIES: ARCHAIC (133–136): IN CYPRIOTE BELT (137–141).

2. BEARDED HEADS: 159 ORIENTAL; 160–2 ARCHAIC; 164 PERHAPS EGYPTIAN; 163 MOUSTACHE BUT NO BEARD.

3. LIFE-SIZE VOTARY, ARCHAIC: 180.

LEVKONIKO: VOTARIES: ARCHAIC AND HELLENIC.

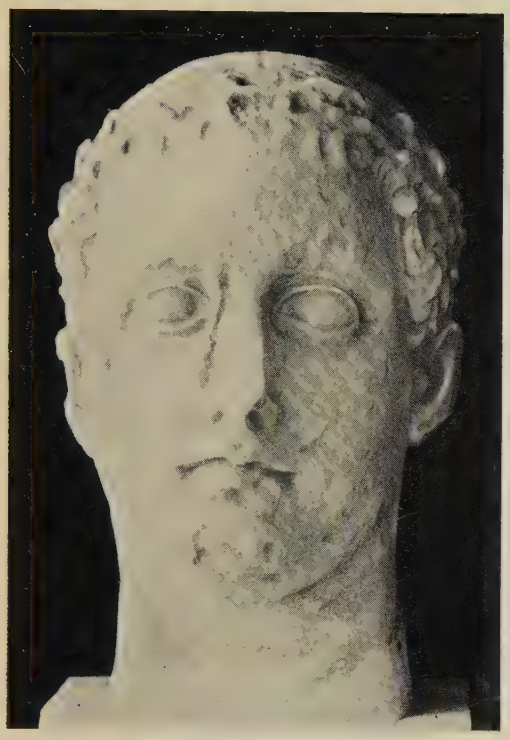
1. HEADS OF VOTARIES: HELLENIC. 179 SUPPORTS A VASE ON PEDESTAL.

2. HERACLES: HELLENIC, WITH CLUB.

3. HERACLES: WITH CLUB AND LION.

4. HERACLES. 408, CLUB AND QUIVER; 410, BOW AND QUIVER.

LEVKONIKO: VOTARIES AND STATUETTES OF HERACLES.



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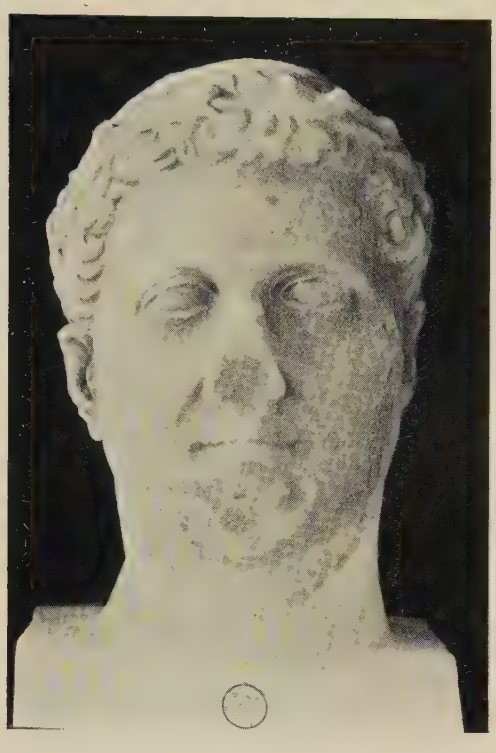

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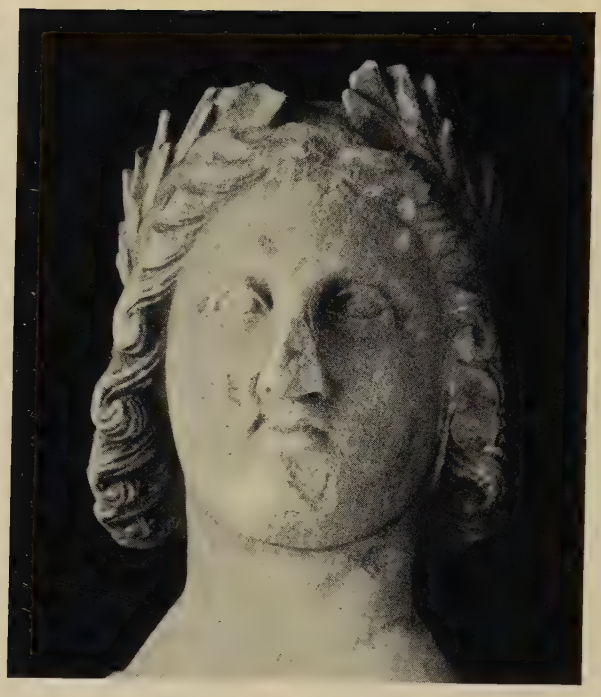
LEVKONIKO: HELLENISTIC PORTRAITS, LIFE-SIZE.



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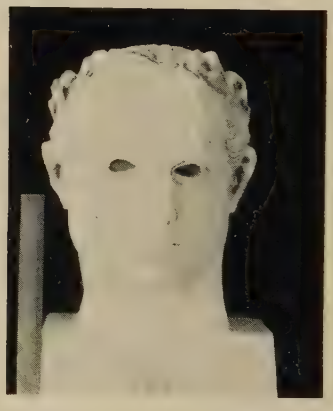
397, SIDE FACE.



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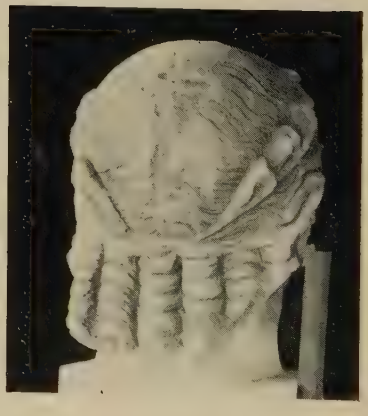
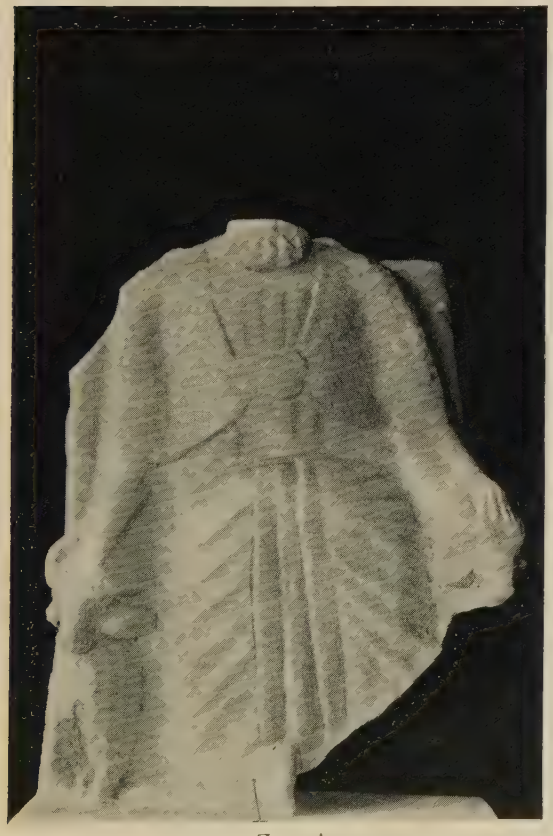


401: BACK.

LEVKONIKO: PORTRAIT HEADS.

411–424, VOTIVE STATUETTES OF ZEUS AMMON; 425, NURSING MOTHER.



421*a*, ZEUS AMMON.

426, SCRIBE OR READER.

351, 359, 361, SMALLER PORTRAIT HEADS. 370–374, HEADS OF PAN. 375–381, HEADS OF OPAON MELANTHIOS OR 'SHEPHERD'S PATRON.'

'TEMPLE-BOYS' : 464, WITH NECKLACE OF AMULETS; 465, LATER TYPE.

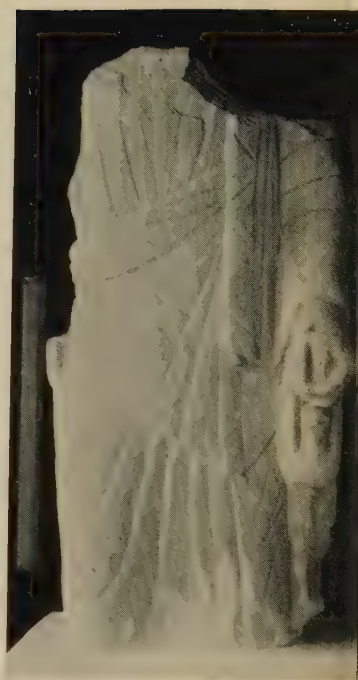
432 'TEMPLE-BOYS' WITH DOVE AND PYXIS. 433

470, 475, 478–9, STATUETTES OF OPAON MELANTHIOS OR 'SHEPHERD'S PATRON.'

LEVKONIKO: VOTIVE STATUETTES: PAN: OPAON MELANTHIOS.

548

531



574

588

591

590

FRAGMENTS OF SCULPTURE: HAND WITH ROLL (588); LYRE (591); SPHINX ON PEDESTAL (593); VOTARY WITH LAMP (499); VOTARY WITH SPRAY (519); FEMALE AND ANIMAL HEADS FROM ARMS OF SEATS (590).

LEVKONIKO: VOTARIES: FRAGMENTS OF SCULPTURE.

549, BACK.

549, FRONT.

HELLENISTIC VOTARY, HALF LIFE SIZE; HARD LIMESTONE.

HELLENISTIC VOTARIES: VARIOUS TYPES.

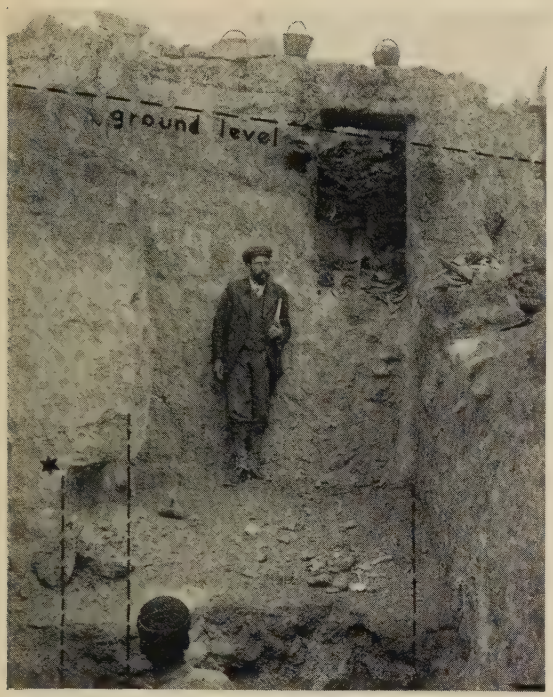
LEVKONIKO: HELLENISTIC SCULPTURE.

1. ACHEIROPOIETOS: QUARRIES AND HOUSE-FOUNDATIONS, VENERATED AS A CHURCH 'NOT MADE WITH HANDS'; MEDIAEVAL CHURCH WITH DOME TO RIGHT: LOOKING WEST.

2. LAMPOUSA: NORTH FACE OF 'ACROPOLIS' DEVASTATED BY QUARRYING; THE DEEP SHAFT SHOWN IN PL. 23, 1, 2, IS BEHIND THE FIGURE IN WHITE HELMET

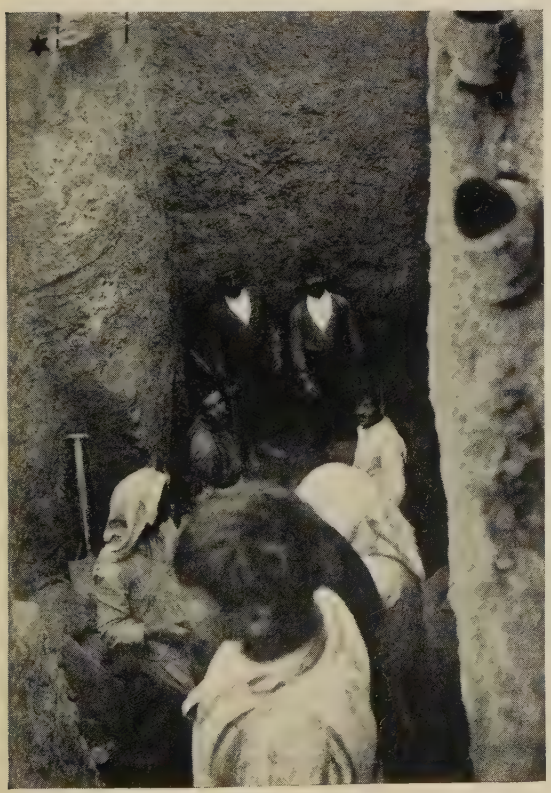
3. LAMPOUSA: EAST FACE OF 'ACROPOLIS' SHOWING CHAMBER-TOMBS ADAPTED AS CELLARS AND PARTLY QUARRIED

LAMPOUSA: HELLENIC SITE DEVASTATED BY QUARRYING.

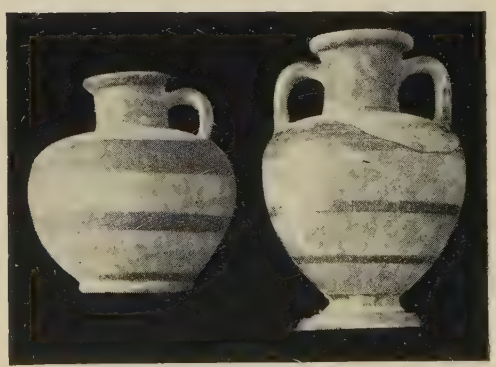


1. SHAFT ON NORTH FACE, PARTLY EXCAVATED.

3. FRAGMENTS OF PLASTER CORNICE.

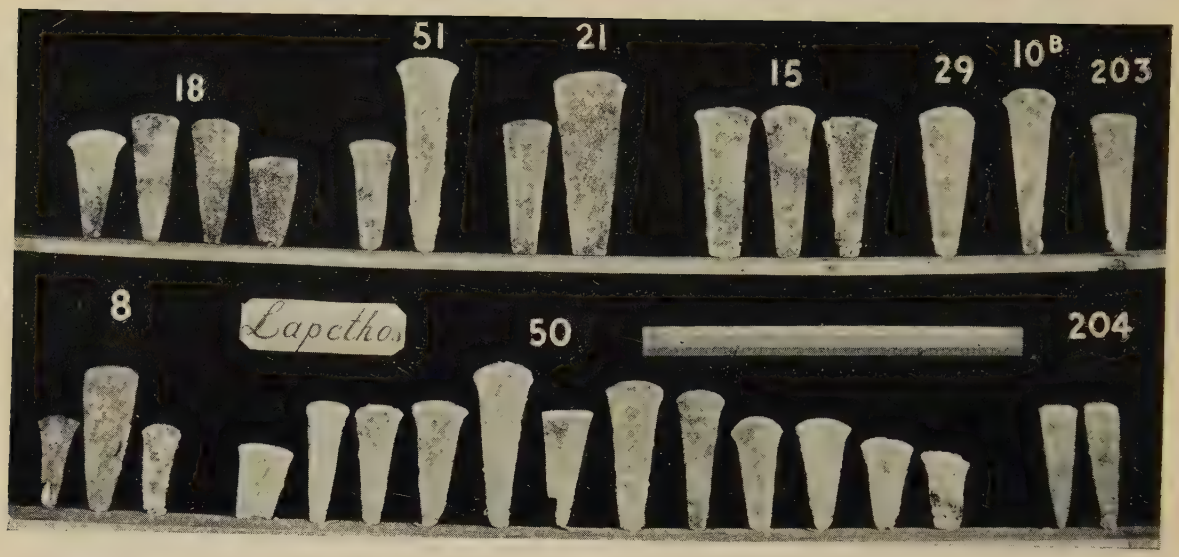


2. SAME SHAFT, COMPLETELY EXCAVATED.

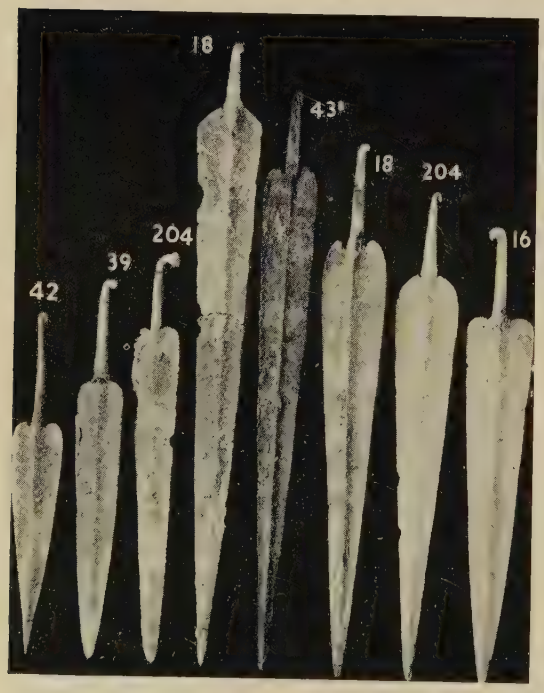


4. VASES OF IMPORTED IONIC FABRICS: FOUND IN THE BASEMENT-ROOM, OF WHICH THE ROCK-CUT DOOR APPEARS IN FIG. 1.

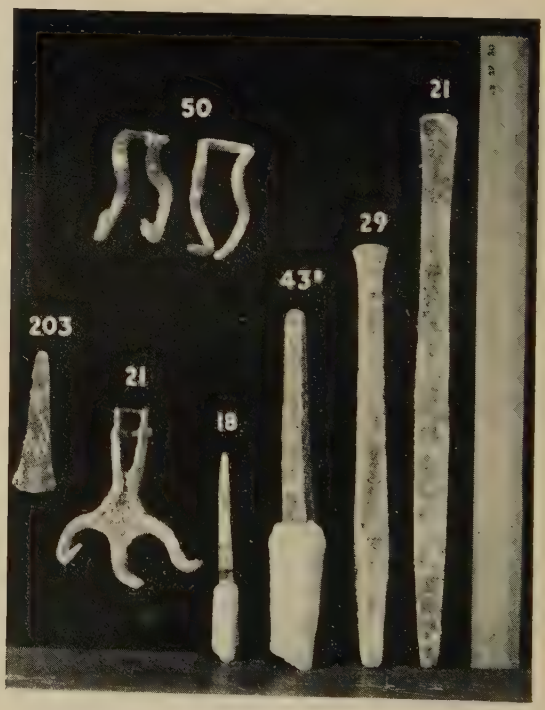
LAMPOUSA: HELLENIC SITE DEVASTATED BY QUARRYING.



1. FLAT AXE-HEADS: FROM VARIOUS TOMBS, AS NUMBERED.

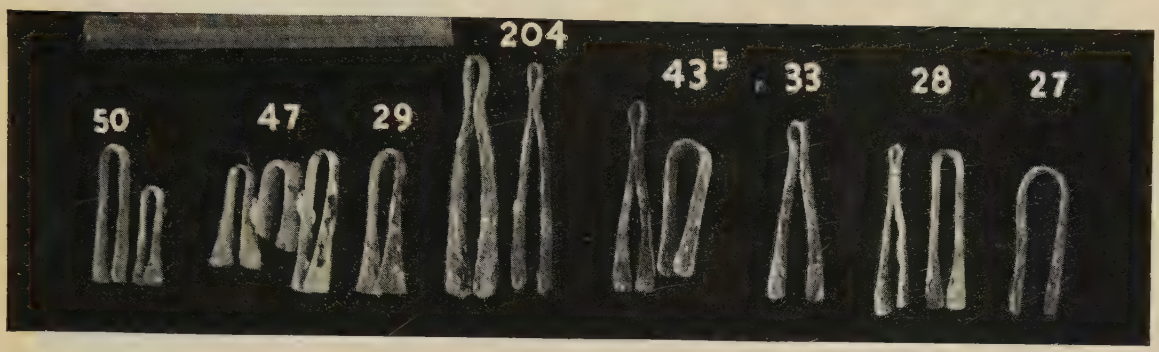


2. SPEAR-HEADS WITH HOOKED TANG: FROM TOMBS, AS NUMBERED.



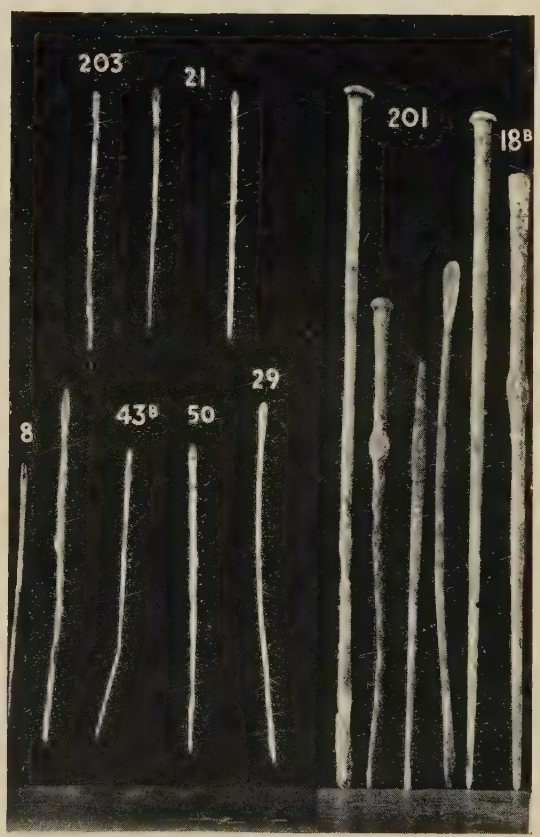
3. SOCKETED FLESH-HOOK (21); MEAT-HOOK FOR SUSPENSION (50); CHISELS (21, 29, 43B).

LAPITHOS: COPPER AGE CEMETERY; METALLIC OBJECTS.



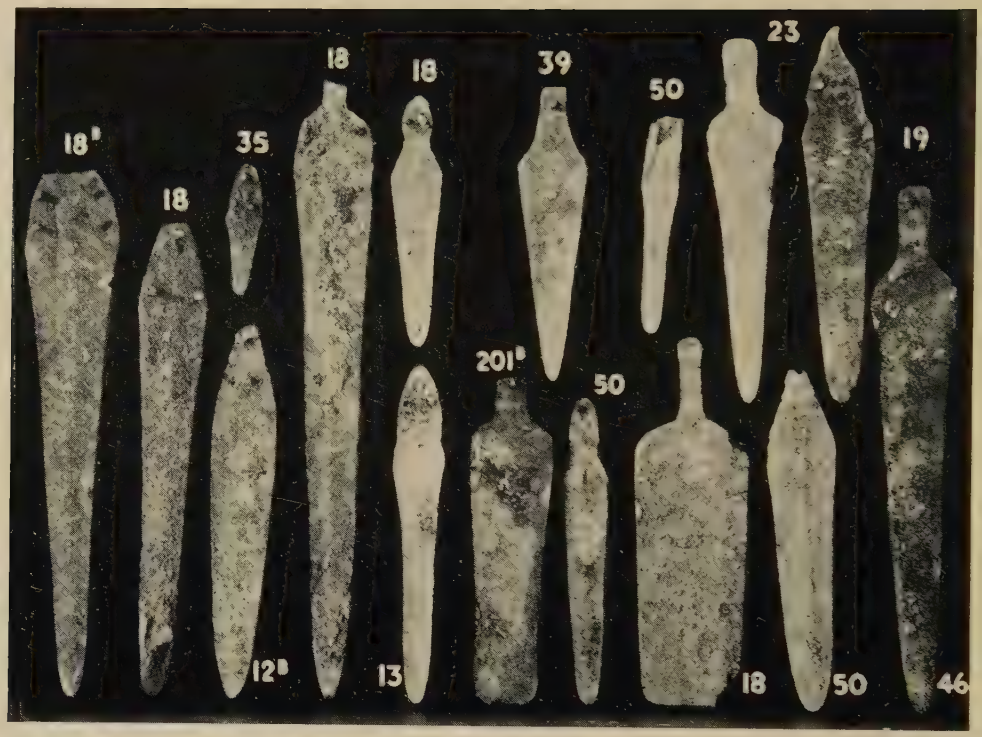
1. TWEEZERS: BRONZE.

2. EYELET PINS: BRONZE.



3. NEEDLES, PINS, EAR-PICK, AWL.

LAPITHOS: COPPER AGE CEMETERY; METALLIC OBJECTS.



1. DAGGERS: BRONZE.

2. TABULAR FIGURINES, USUALLY TWO-HEADED:
from Tombs as numbered: 21 and 201 carry a child: 15 seems to lie in a hooded cradle.

LAPITHOS: COPPER AGE CEMETERY: DAGGERS AND FIGURINES.

1. EARLY CYPRIOTE III: TOMB 28; RED POLISHED WARE.

2. EARLY CYPRIOTE III: TOMB 12 A–D; RED WARE, POLISHED AND INCISED.

LAPITHOS: COPPER AGE TOMB-GROUPS.

1. MIDDLE CYPRIOTE I: TOMB 4, TYPICAL POTTERY AND METAL OBJECTS.

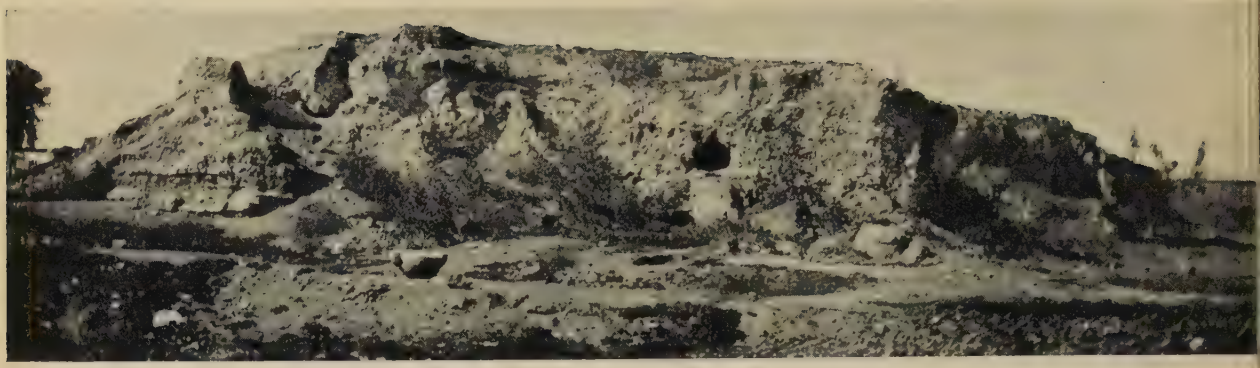
2. MIDDLE CYPRIOTE I: TOMB 4, TYPICAL POTTERY.

LAPITHOS: COPPER AGE TOMB GROUPS.

1. MIDDLE CYPRIOTE I–II: TOMB 18, TYPICAL CONTENTS.

2. MIDDLE CYPRIOTE I–II: TOMB 18, TYPICAL CONTENTS.

LAPITHOS: COPPER AGE TOMB GROUPS



1. BAMBOULA HILL, LARNACA: DEVASTATED, SOUTH END BEFORE EXCAVATION.

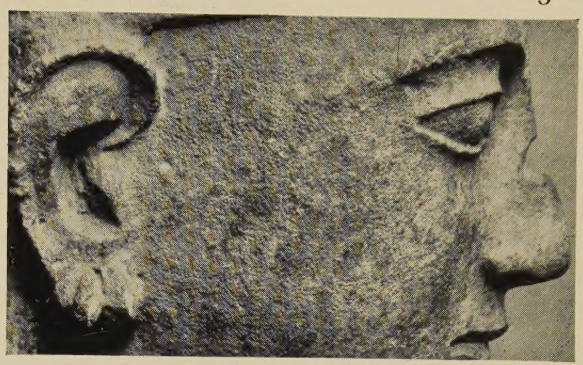
2. SOUTH-WEST ANGLE, BEFORE EXCAVATION, LOOKING NORTH-WEST.

3. SOUTH-WEST ANGLE, CLEARED TO SHOW HELLENISTIC FLOORS ABOVE THE GREAT WALL.

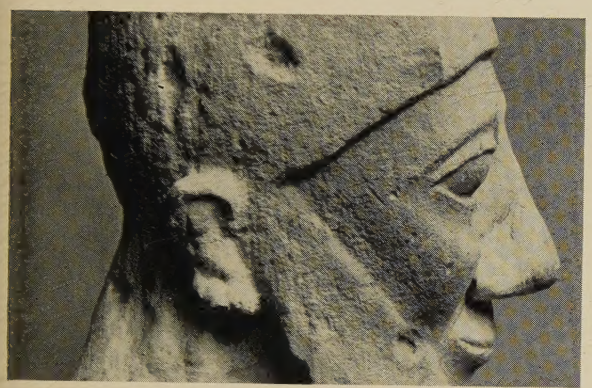
4. BAMBOULA: SHAFT N SHOWING EARLY WALL. Depths in metres from zero on ridge.

5. UNWORKED BOULDER ON SITE OF TEMPLE OF APHRODITE AT KOUKLIA (OLD PAPHOS).

CESNOLA 1251.



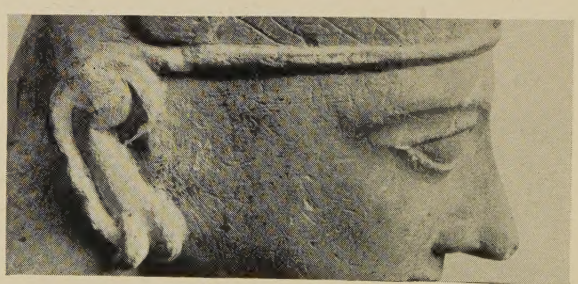
CESNOLA 1261.



CESNOLA 1257.

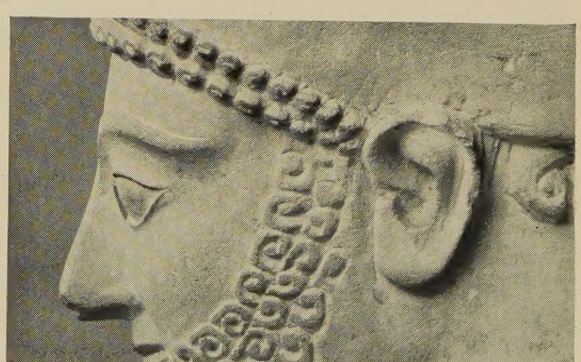
CESNOLA 1259.

CESNOLA 1254.



CESNOLA 1274.

CESNOLA 1361.



CESNOLA 1363.

EYES AND EARS OF CYPRIOTE STATUES.

CESNOLA 1456

CESNOLA 1256.

CESNOLA 1453.

CESNOLA 1454.

CESNOLA 1474.

[British Museum: *Assyrian Sculptures II.*, pl. XXXII., by permission of the Trustees.

EYES AND EARS OF CYPRIOTE AND ASSYRIAN HEADS.

THE BRITISH SCHOOL OF ARCHAEOLOGY AT ATHENS.

THE British School at Athens was founded in 1886 to provide British students of the literature, art, architecture, archaeology, and history of Greece of all periods from the earliest times to Byzantine and modern days with facilities for research and travel in Greece itself. The School has also assisted, as opportunity offered, students of the geology, zoology and anthropology of Greece.

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In Crete, through the generosity of Sir Arthur Evans, the School owns the site of the Palace of Knossos and the adjacent 'Villa Ariadne,' containing library, curator's residence, and accommodation for students.

Residence.—The School is open from November 1st to June 30th, and during this session the Director is in Greece, and either he or his deputy is resident in Athens.

Facilities are afforded for using the libraries and attending the lectures of the other foreign schools. The principal Greek libraries are also available, and the Greek Archaeological Service grants free access to the museums and excavations.

Students of the School are required to pursue a definite course of study and to reside in Greek lands for three months at least. Student privileges and accommodation in the hostel may be granted for shorter periods.

Excavations in Greece have always been one of the principal activities of the School. Each has been supported by funds specially contributed.

The Annual of the British School at Athens contains reports on the School's excavations, and other subjects relating to the literature, art, architecture, archaeology, and history of Greece.

Subscriptions.—Individual subscribers of £2 per annum or donors of £20 to the General Fund receive the current *Annual* free. Subscribers of £1 or donors of £10 are entitled to receive the Report and an annual survey of work in Greece and to purchase a copy of the *Annual* for £1.

All applications for admission or for information about the School should be made to the Secretary, British School at Athens, 50, Bedford Square, London, W.C.1.

Donations and annual subscriptions should be sent to the Hon. Treasurer, V. W. Yorke, Esq., 9–13, George Street, Manchester Square, London, W.1.